



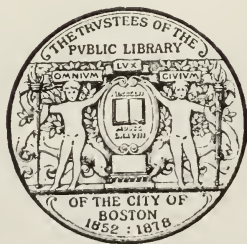
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QUARTERLY

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JANUARY 1953

Emily Dickinson and T. W. Higginson

By THEODORA V. W. WARD

THE leading article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for April 1862 was Thomas Wentworth Higginson's "Letter to a Young Contributor." This was Mr. Higginson's twenty-second contribution to the magazine since his first appearance in its pages in March 1858 with a plea for physical culture, under the title "Saints and their Bodies." He could speak with authority about what editors found acceptable, and his reputation had already brought him numerous letters from literary aspirants.

Putting his potential young contributors at ease by his initial statement that they would meet no prejudice against new or obscure authors, he genially declared, "To take the lead in bringing forward a new genius is as fascinating a privilege as that of the physician who boasted to Sir Henry Halford of having been the first man to discover Asiatic cholera and to communicate it to the public." When genius actually presented itself he seems to have found the privilege as embarrassing as it was fascinating. His excellent practical advice on turning in a neat manuscript, on cutting and smoothing and avoiding high-flown phrases, may have been written as much for the benefit of the editorial staff as for the hopeful writers, but he was an able critic as well as a good teacher, and had himself mastered a style not far removed from the "mode of writing which unites the smoothness of the eighteenth century with

the vigor of the seventeenth" for which he felt the age was ready.

For one reader, however, the significance of the article seems to have been summed up in the single phrase, "Charge your style with life," for she responded promptly with the question, "Are you too deeply occupied to say if my verse is alive?" Her undated letter, in an envelope postmarked "April 15" and addressed without title to "T. W. Higginson, Worcester, Mass." was not signed, but the name "Emily Dickinson," written in pencil on a card, was enclosed in a smaller envelope within. Mr. Higginson was thus confronted at once with the elusiveness that continued to baffle him during the entire period of this correspondence. Perhaps the custom, then current, of publishing magazine articles anonymously set a precedent for her which sanctioned this shy compromise. Mr. Higginson's name had not appeared in the magazine that carried his article, but it was customary for the literary columns of the daily papers to announce the contents of the leading magazines and the names of the authors just before the publication date, and Emily Dickinson was a constant reader of the *Springfield Republican*.

With this letter, according to Higginson's own account in his article "Emily Dickinson's Letters," which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October 1891, were enclosed four poems: "Safe in their Alabaster Chambers," "I'll tell you how the Sun rose," "We play at Paste," and "The nearest Dream recedes unrealized." Reflecting many years later on the effect of the letter and its enclosures, Higginson used a figure from the last of these when he said, "The bee himself did not evade the school boy more than she evaded me; and even to this day I still stand bewildered, like the boy."

In seeking a literary adviser, Emily Dickinson could hardly have chosen a man whose temperament and outlook differed more markedly from her own. Although the two had in common the cultural background of their native New England, the teacher accepted it as the heir to a goodly heritage, while his "scholar" thought of New England as the place where she lived and felt at home.

The Boston patrician, completely at home on the intellec-

tual heights sustained by the atmosphere in which he grew up, was of a highly active temperament. As a boy in Cambridge, avid for knowledge, he alternated outdoor adventure with his explorations in books, and before he was sixteen he had built up a rich store of information in diverse fields of learning. His love of nature, gained in early boyhood, remained the great solace of his life. His close observation of its phenomena provided the occasion for many of his earlier essays in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and it was probably through her reading of these that Emily Dickinson became acquainted with his writing and "experienced honor" for him. Yet even in the delight in flowers and birds which she shared with him there was a marked difference, for her approach to all the things of nature was the subjective one of the artist, while Higginson's attitude was that of a somewhat romantic amateur naturalist.

In human relations these two individuals were equally far apart. While Emily Dickinson clung with ardor to her chosen few and lived to a large degree in solitude, Higginson's responsive and kindly nature led him into easy social contact with numberless men and women. They both loved children, but Emily's relation to them was one of participation in their interests while Higginson's was warmly paternal. A woman who passed her childhood in Newport remembers him there as a man to whom a child instinctively ran when she saw him coming in the street.

While Emily sought the hidden sources of human experience, he was concerned with the actions and manners of his own and previous generations. If her business, as she wrote in one of her early letters to him, was "circumference," his extended like the innumerable radii from a fixed center. His rational mind had been given freedom to develop and had received the influence of the best liberal thinkers of the day. Since to study theology was almost mandatory for a young man of high purpose, he followed this course, though with somewhat fluctuating convictions. He became a Unitarian minister, but the two pulpits he occupied, first in Newburyport and then in Worcester, were those of independent "free" churches. No parish life could long contain the energies of so expansive a nature. His inborn sense of justice, served by his

love of action, led him to take part in movements for the benefit of special classes, or for the improvement of society in general. His participation in the abolitionist movement was no matter of mere speechmaking, for he engaged in violent action in the cases of two fugitive slaves in Boston, and took a leading part in the attempt to free John Brown. A cause that was equally near his heart and of longer duration was the woman suffrage movement. Among his papers there still exists a copy of a circular announcing a meeting in 1869 to organize a national association for woman's suffrage, on which his signature appears with those of Lucy Stone, Caroline Severance, his lifelong friend Julia Ward Howe, and George H. Vibbert.

Higginson's special interest in the problems of women extended far beyond the question of their right to vote. The Victorian attitude elevating women to a place apart was in his case transformed into an admiration which championed their right to a more abundant life on every side. Perhaps his devotion and patience in caring for an invalid wife through most of the thirty years of his first marriage found compensation in fostering the activity of other women who were more fortunate. He became the apostle of the normal and the natural, advocating physical training for women equal to — though not necessarily identical with — that granted their brothers. Except for one intense friendship with a fellow-student during his years at Harvard, his chosen companions seem to have been women more often than men. It was natural that young women of talent should turn to him for advice, and before Emily Dickinson opened her correspondence with him he had already had a number of protégées, the best known of whom was Harriet Prescott Spofford. One suspects that he occasionally mistook charm for genius, and fostered some ambitions that were based less on originality of mind than on the ability to write smooth English.

It could not have been easy for a man of Higginson's type of mind to evaluate the life and genius of Emily Dickinson. Her writing denied his standards of form and style; she deliberately refused the privileges for freedom and action he wished to bestow on her sex; she hid behind a veil of glittering words and failed to become manifest as flesh and blood. Even after a correspondence of seven years he could not believe in the reality of

her desire for solitude. "You must come down to Boston sometime"; he wrote, "All ladies do." He was unable to conceive of a woman of talent and intelligence who did not wish to mingle with her kind. She did not fit into any compartment of his world, yet she possessed a power that astonished and plagued him. When after eight years of baffled and intermittent effort to understand her, he went to see her at her own home, he was nervously exhausted from the effort to meet the pull of her strangely magnetic personality. To the women who were closest to him, his wife and sisters, he could explain her only as "partially insane," "cracked," or "singular." Yet she had placed such confidence in him and maintained such loyalty as years went by that his benevolent nature responded with puzzled protectiveness, mingled with a genuine though somewhat reluctant sense of fascination.

In the beginning, however, Emily was to Higginson merely an oddity chance had thrown in his way. On the day after he had received her first letter he added a postscript to a letter he was writing to James T. Fields, then editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*: "I foresee that 'Young Contributors' will send me worse things than ever now. Two such specimens of verse as came yesterday and the day before fortunately not for publication." The following day he wrote to his mother, "Since that Letter to a Young Contributor I have more wonderful effusions than ever sent me to read with request for advice, which is hard to give. Louise was quite overwhelmed with two which came in two successive days." One of these he quoted; although it was not one of Emily Dickinson's, he gave no recognition to the superior quality of the verses he had received from her the same day. There is no record of his first impression of them except this telling omission, yet his curiosity seems to have been sufficiently aroused to induce him to answer her letter almost at once, for it was only ten days after the receipt of the first that a second letter from her arrived.

Taking from his article a figure he had elaborated on clothing one's thought with words, she confessed her inability to judge her own "thoughts in the gown." Although he advised his young readers to "roll" their thought "into one good English word," his own image had been expanded into ninety-six

words, while hers was contained in a single phrase. She made further acknowledgment of his article by referring to Ruskin, whom he had quoted, and to Sir Thomas Browne, the vigor of whose style he recommended. In answer to his inquiry regarding her age she stated that she had written only one or two poems before the past winter. This statement probably reflects a changed attitude toward her writing, however, rather than an actual fact, for a considerable number of manuscripts exist in the writing of the late 1850's, some of which had been sent to her friends. She explained that she had recently begun to work seriously, under the stress of some severe emotional disturbance, ". . . and so I sing," she said, "as the Boy does by the Burying Ground — because I am afraid." With a new critical attitude she had probably rejected some of her earlier work, choosing the few that she felt were worthy of remembrance.

Emily's answers to the questions Mr. Higginson had asked threw enough light on her personality to enable him to read her poems with more insight and to see in them something of the living quality in regard to which she so longed to be assured. He was now interested enough to offer her advice, to which she responded with a series of letters showing her gratitude on one hand and the resistance on the other that was to characterize the relation for years to come.

Unable to resist Emily's touching pleas for his guidance, which to modern ears, it must be admitted, sound somewhat coy, Mr. Higginson shouldered the task assigned him, but found himself unable to criticise the verses without knowing more of the person who had written them. He asked for her photograph, but received in reply a description of her appearance and an outline of their future relations. Such intellectual loneliness as she hinted at must have been inconceivable to a man who had the power to choose his companions among the best minds of his day, and her attitude toward him as shown in the question "Are you perfectly powerful?" must have roused the champion in him to her aid.

She sent him more poems. "Are these more orderly?" she asked demurely, describing the devastating effects of her efforts to organize her work, and enclosing verses even farther removed from the prescription of the "preceptor" than the

Mr Higginson.

Can you

too deeply occupied, to
say if my Verse is
alive?

The mind is so near
itself - it cannot - ex-
actly - And I have
now to ask.

Should you think it
mattered - and had you
the leisure to tell me,
I should feel quick.
gratitude -

If I make the
mistake - that you
dared to tell me -
could give me Lincoln
honor - toward you.
I enclose my name -
asking you, if you
please. Sir. to tell me
what is true?

That you will not
betray me - it is needless
to ask. Once Honor
is its own power.

Emily Dickinson's Letter
(Continued from Preceding Page)

earlier ones had been. In answer to his charge that she confessed the little mistake but omitted the large, she sent him verses full of dissonances and containing such startling irregularities of syntax as "among my mind," a phrase that must have jarred unpleasantly "among" the mind of her critic. On Emily's side, however, the progress of the relationship is marked by the changes in signature. With the second letter she had overcome her shyness sufficiently to sign herself "Your friend, E. Dickinson." In the fourth she called herself "Your Scholar," a title that appeared intermittently at first, but was repeated more consistently the farther the friendship became removed from that of teacher and pupil.

Several letters passed between them during the spring and early summer of 1862, before Mr. Higginson's participation in the Civil War caused an interruption in the correspondence. From the beginning of the war, more than a year before, he had been intensely interested in its events and deeply identified with the Union cause. In the first months of the conflict he had framed a plan to bring troops from Kansas, and under the leadership of John Brown, Jr., to launch a campaign through Pennsylvania, but the governor of that state failed to approve it. With the extension of operations in the spring of 1862 the question of his own participation began to concern him. As a minister and the husband of an invalid, the matter involved serious conflicts for him, and it is not strange if he occasionally delayed in answering the letters of his unpredictable correspondent. On the fifteenth of August he wrote to his mother, "I have obtained authority to enlist a military company for nine months. I go as captain . . . It seemed to me also . . . that beyond a certain point one has no right to concentrate one's whole life on one private duty. Mary will make the best of it as she always does & will either go to Boston if I can find suitable accommodation or stay here." In September he went into barracks at Worcester. Emily's letter written in July probably remained unanswered, and nearly three months later, in an envelope postmarked October sixth, came an anxious inquiry from her: "Did I displease you, Mr. Higginson? But won't you tell me how? Your friend, E. Dickinson."

Mr. Higginson's courtesy would certainly have prompted a

reply to this appeal if he could possibly have found the time for it, but there is nothing to show that Emily received an explanation of his silence. It was not until the following spring that her next letter was written. She had found "by accident" that he had gone, probably some time after the event. Early in November, as his regiment was about to leave for the south, he had received a commission to command a regiment of freed slaves in South Carolina, and left hurriedly to join his troops at Fort Saxton. He threw himself heartily into his work, becoming teacher, guardian, and friend to the simple souls under his command, and coming close to the conflict only in a few minor engagements during the year and a half of his service. In retrospective mood he wrote in his diary in 1875, "I never was happier than when in the army, entirely absorbed in active duties." This view of military life contrasted sharply with Emily's picture of it when she wrote to him in April 1863 "War feels to me an oblique place," and entreated him, if he could do so with honor, to avoid death.

Strangely injured by a blow on the side from a fragment of shell or a splinter of wood during a raid for "contraband" recruits, Colonel Higginson's health became so much affected by what had appeared at first to be a mere bruise that he was obliged to leave the army in the spring of 1864. Emily heard the news and, concerned for his health, wrote a letter of inquiry from Cambridge, where she was spending several months for the treatment of her eyes. During Colonel Higginson's absence Mrs. Higginson had moved to Newport, Rhode Island, and that pleasant town remained their home until her death in 1877. Colonel Higginson never returned to the church, but devoted himself to writing, turning out magazine articles on an immense variety of subjects from swimming to spiritualism, as well as a novel, short stories, book reviews and his well-known *Young Folks' History of the United States*. He concerned himself also with matters of local importance in the town of Newport, and delivered public speeches and lectures in many places, carrying on meanwhile an active social life which his wife could share to only a limited degree.

The correspondence with Emily Dickinson was renewed and a number of poems were enclosed with her letters. Still plagued

by the elusiveness of his correspondent, he challenged her to appear. Emily, lonely in the loss of her dog, Carlo, replied, "Whom my Dog understood could not elude others," yet she firmly resisted all his efforts to lure her into the world in which he moved. As early as 1866 she asked, "Might I entrust you as my Guest to the Amherst Inn?" But it was not until the summer of 1870 that a vacation trip to the White Mountains gave him the opportunity to plan his route by way of Amherst. The letters he wrote about her to Mrs. Higginson, quoted at length by Mrs. Todd in *Letters of Emily Dickinson*, preserve the record of this memorable experience. Most revealing of all, however, is a passage from the article already referred to, which he wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* when the publication of the first series of her *Poems* had aroused public interest in her personality: "She was much too enigmatical a being for me to solve in an hour's interview, and an instinct told me that the slightest attempt to direct cross-examination would make her withdraw into her shell; I could only sit still and watch as one does in the woods; I must name my bird without a gun, as recommended by Emerson."

Unless we doubt the sincerity of Emily's expressions of feeling in her letters to friends, it is clear that she believed she had talked with a great man, whose authority she could rely on. Writing to him a month after his visit, she asked his forgiveness for her ignorance, and called herself his "obedient Child." Yet in spite of Colonel Higginson's delicacy of feeling in treating her as one does a wild bird, the tone of her letter shows that they had not really found a common meeting ground. She continued to send him poems, sometimes in groups of four or five, and as late as 1873 they were sometimes accompanied by a small note begging for instruction. That she had profited not at all from the instruction she had received had nothing to do with the value of all he said, and the correspondence must be continued for its own sake. "That it is true, Master, is the Power of all you write," she said in 1876, in regard to a magazine article of his she had read.

Everything he wrote was of interest to her, and she read his books and the articles that appeared in magazines that came to the house. She treasured many of his phrases, and in one in-

stance sent back to him a thought of his she had read fifteen years before as if it had been her own. In an article called "My Outdoor Study," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September 1861, he had said, "One can find summer in January by poring over the Latin catalogues of Massachusetts plants and animals in Hitchcock's reports." In a letter written in the winter of 1877 Emily wrote, "When Flowers annually died and I was a child, I used to read Dr. Hitchcock's Book on the Flowers of North America. This comforted their Absence — assuring me they lived." Emily's inaccuracy — for Dr. Hitchcock's study was confined to the flowers of his own state — adds more than it detracts from the impression of her high esteem for Colonel Higginson. In the same letter she quoted a sentence from the "Letter to a Young Contributor," citing it as her enduring authority for refusal to those who asked for her verses for publication: "Such being the majesty of the art you presume to practice, you can at least take time before dishonoring it."

After their meeting in 1870 the correspondence began to take on a somewhat more personal tone, and following the second visit in 1873 Emily began to include Mrs. Higginson through inquiry and occasional letters and poems, with small gifts of pressed flowers. During those years Mrs. Higginson, who, from the meager evidence available, seems to have been a life-long sufferer from arthritis, was becoming increasingly crippled, until in 1875 she was confined most of the time to a wheel chair.

Mary Channing Higginson was her husband's first cousin, and a sister of William Ellery Channing, the Concord poet. She was several years older than her husband, to whom she had become engaged when he was a boy of nineteen. One feels that his choice may have been on the grounds of intellectual compatibility and family affection at a time when he was still emotionally immature, but the attachment survived through the four years of their engagement, and he gave her his tender devotion through all the years of her invalidism. A woman of marked intelligence and character, and, it was said, with gifts equal to her brother's, she might have taken a place of her own in some field of intellectual activity if it had not been for her serious handicap of poor health. As it was, the struggle to carry

on daily living with the burden of constant pain limited her severely, but seems to have intensified her perceptions. She had the gift of pungent wit in her observations on persons and events, preserving her sanity by seeing the humorous aspects of her own situation. She undoubtedly lightened the grimness of the circumstances for her husband as well as herself by her witty comments on people and books and the small happenings of daily life.

Colonel Higginson's letters to his sisters recount many of his wife's sayings, and she often added small pencilled notes on the margin, giving in a few words a picture taken from her surroundings at the moment, or a comment on some topic of interest to them both. Characteristic of these is the following, dated May 17, 1874: "I am watching the opposite farmer who only works with a kitchen knife — which I approve — We must have faith in nature." The quality of this comment is so similar to Emily Dickinson's form of humor that, had the latter ever felt free to show that aspect of her mind to the Higginsons, they might have found her less remote from normality than she appeared to them. Whether it was from awe or because the relationship began with a single purpose, Emily never dropped her deferentially serious manner in writing to the man who, she said, had saved her life through his encouragement at a time of crisis. It is easy to see that her intensity might have been embarrassing, if not actually in bad taste, to a woman of Mrs. Higginson's type, and equally foreign to the nature of her husband.

In September 1877 Mrs. Higginson died. Colonel Higginson wrote in his diary, "Who is taking care of her? is the cruel question that is never answered, when those we love are gone. With all Mary's strength she was such a child in her dependence on me and asked so often this year 'You'll stay by me, won't you?' yet she could not stay by me. It is hard to realize that her dependence ceased with the body." Emily wrote him four letters in close succession, expressing her sympathy in terms that suggest an intimacy he probably never felt. He could hardly have failed to be touched, however, and in his reply he seems to have hinted that he might go to see her. Several times in the ensuing months she wrote eagerly of her hope of seeing him,

but he never visited her again, and his next trip to Amherst was to attend her funeral, nearly nine years later.

Colonel Higginson was soon able to take up his various interests, and as he was now free to travel, he visited Florida and then spent six months in Europe. After his return in the autumn of 1878, he became engaged to Miss Mary Thacher, whom he had known since she was a young girl. She was already the author of a little volume of pleasant essays called *Seashore and Prairie*, in one of which Colonel Higginson is mentioned as "the Professor." Later she published a children's story and two small volumes of verse. At the time of their marriage in February 1879, Colonel Higginson bought a house in Cambridge, the town in which he had grown up, and here they lived for the rest of his long life. This second marriage to a younger woman brought him the fulfillment that had been impossible under the sad conditions of the first.

No one followed the course of this new phase with more sympathy than did Emily. Although fearful at first of intruding, she soon found occasions for letters, and continued to write to him through her last years, still signing herself "Your Scholar," and sending small attentions to his little girl. The new situation in his life must have put him in a different light for her, and the maturity of her own later years freed her to express herself in more simple human terms. Colonel Higginson noted the change himself, when writing his account of the correspondence in the *Atlantic Monthly* article, commenting on the more objective attitude she showed in a letter written in the summer of 1880, and concluding "how close might have been her observation and sympathy, had her rare qualities taken a somewhat different channel." Her inner stress and intensity, however, were never lost, as is shown by the last words she ever wrote to him. Reaching out for her friends, after a long winter of illness, in the brief interval before the end came, she sent her final appeal, "Deity, does he live now? My friend, does he breathe?"

Thus ends the story of the strangely unequal friendship which, in spite of its ambiguities, held a place of great importance in the life of Emily Dickinson. Since only three of Colonel Higginson's letters to her survive, it is necessary to reconstruct

much of what he said by reflection, as seen in her replies. In view of the lack of direct evidence it is hardly fair to place on his shoulders the sole responsibility for the fact that during her lifetime only a handful of her verses appeared in print, and none of those on her own initiative. Her own inclination should carry its share, as an underlying reason for her avoidance of publicity. Yet Colonel Higginson's influence was without doubt the most important factor outside of herself. A letter from a woman who met him at Newport in 1872 quotes him as saying of Emily Dickinson's poems, that they "always reminded him of skeleton leaves, so pretty, but *too delicate* — not strong enough to publish." The letter was written to Emily Fowler Ford, a girlhood friend of Emily Dickinson's, whom Mrs. Todd quotes in *Letters of Emily Dickinson* as recounting a conversation with Dr. Holland, then editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, expressing similar views.

In one of his earliest letters to her Higginson advised her not to publish. Her reply, "... that [publication] being foreign to my thought as Firmament to Fin," is divested of its absoluteness by the significant statement that follows, "If fame belonged to me I could not escape her." The truth of this has been well proven in the years since her death. The poem beginning

Publication is the Auction

Of the mind of Man

which has often been quoted to show her antipathy to seeing her verse in print ends with the lines

But reduce no human Spirit

To disgrace of Price.

If this may be taken literally it was the sale, not the circulation of poetry that she found most distasteful. A poem, after all, requires a reader for its fulfillment.

In her earliest phase as a poet Emily's friend Ben Newton had filled the place of reader and critic. Her brother Austin's wife, Susan Gilbert Dickinson, provided a ready audience close at hand, and a few other friends had been given an opportunity to read some of the verses. But when Emily sent poems to the author of the "Letter to a Young Contributor" she could hardly have done so with a view to preserving them unread in a bureau drawer. If Higginson had perceived in them the work

of an original genius who should be made known, it seems probable that her resistance to publicity would finally have been overcome. To her he represented the best the educated world could offer. If her poetry did not meet the world's requirements as he knew them, there was no need for her to seek elsewhere. She could be no one but herself, and she must therefore remain herself in private.

In a sense, however, she had her public in Higginson himself: the one reader outside the circle of her family and the few friends she had chosen from those whom family contacts had brought within her reach. From the beginning he received her letters and their enclosures with kindly courtesy, and as years went by with a warmer interest. His fine feeling is shown in his early recognition of his inability to effect any changes in her work without damaging what he called her "fine edge of thought." But he obviously could not classify it as poetry. In a letter he wrote after his second visit to her in December 1873, he referred to her verse as "the beautiful thoughts and words you have sent me." It seems to have remained in his mind, as in the minds of some of her other friends, as a personal form of expression, entirely removed from the world of published literature. Even after her death, when he was collaborating with Mrs. Todd in editing for publication the first series of her poems, he wrote to his sister that they were "very remarkable, though odd." Sad as it is that she never was to know her own power as reflected in the opinion of others, it may have been best that she was not subjected to the opposition or the neglect of a public that was not ready to receive her.

Note

Emily Dickinson's letters to Thomas Wentworth Higginson are part of the Galatea Collection given by Colonel Higginson to the Boston Public Library; and his letters to Mrs. Higginson, one of which is cited in the present article, are with them.

Three letters from Colonel Higginson to Emily Dickinson are at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, as are also his diaries, and his letters to his mother and sisters and to James T. Fields.

The quotation from the letter from Lydia B. Torrey to Emily Fowler Ford is printed here by permission of the New York Public Library, where the manuscript is among the Ford papers.

Manuscript Illumination and Poetry

By BILL READ

ONE of the most beautiful books in the Treasure Room of the Boston Public Library is a fifteenth-century Rennes Book of Hours (Ms. 1489). The handsome, formal script in black and red is sprinkled over with a multitude of gold initial letters. Elaborate designs envelop the text on almost every page, and the borders surrounding the twenty-four pages of miniature paintings become colored lace, magnificent filigree, enlivened by dainty butterflies, woodpeckers, dragonflies, and angels. But beyond this red and blue and gold glory, there is another interest in these decorations. As in all fine manuscripts of the Middle Ages, they show a reverence for the Book. Books were treated as precious things, so that most of the Bibles, Psalters, and Books of Hours of that period are beautiful.

In the Library's volume, however, there is a special interest in the relationship between content and illustration, exceeding the usual sensitivity of the medieval artist. In the Annunciation, for example, not only are the usual words of the Angel, "Ave Maria gratia plena," spelled out in the middle of the miniature, but the Virgin has just turned from a large book she has been reading. This is common enough iconography; but in the second miniature, too, the Virgin, while speaking to Elizabeth, holds books with gold-tipped edges. In the Crucifixion it is St. John who is carrying a book, while in the Trinity the entire picture is built around a book: the earth is below, God the Father on the left, Christ on the right, the Holy Ghost above, the Heavenly Host all about, and all eyes are centered on the book which is in the center. In folio 89 monks are shown seated at a table examining volumes. In The Angel and the Shepherds "Gloria in Excelsis" is written on a banner, just as on the margin of folio 70 a little figure has his words written on a roll beside him. And so throughout the manuscript, books or legends appear within the miniatures.

This is not unusual in medieval work where there is always

a fine balance between the text and illustrations, but this particular manuscript serves to raise the question of just what is the relationship between writing and painting. On the one hand, there are manuscripts with no illustrations at all, many of them inferior and hastily produced copies; on the other hand, there are also books like the little fourteenth-century Italian picture Bible in the Treasure Room of the Library (Ms. 1512), which consists of nothing but pictures and brief legends.

The deeper relationship between literature and the graphic arts is a subject which has a long and troubled history, but the traditional attitudes on the problem can be summarized briefly. As is often the case, Aristotle made the first observations. In his *Poetics* he suggests that human nature in action is the object of imitation among painters as well as poets.¹ In arguing that plot is the most essential element in tragedy, he remarks that a surface smeared at random with the loveliest colors will not give as much pleasure as a portrait done in outline.² Thus the poet and the painter have the same subject matter, and plot in tragedy in a general way resembles design in painting. But Aristotle's comments are certainly no more than a means of clarifying his discourse on the drama.

Similarly, in the *Ars Poetica* Horace makes casual reference to the connection between the two arts. In one passage, after describing a painting of grotesque hybrids and comparing it to a book the contents of which are fashioned like a sick man's dreams, he admits the equal right of painters and poets to liberty of imagination, provided this potentially dangerous Pegasus be tied in the stall of the probable and congruous.³ A second passage begins with the well-known simile *ut pictura poesis*, "as is painting so is poetry." After remarking that the sensible critic will know how to excuse the faults that must occur even in great literature, Horace asks for flexibility in critical judgment by declaring that poetry should be compared to painting which employs not merely a detailed style requiring close scrutiny, but also a broad, impressionistic style pleasing only when viewed from a distance.⁴ In Horace, as in Aristotle, the comparisons are casual and not primary. It was left for Simon-

ides to formulate the now famous aphorism "painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture."⁵

All these dicta were ignored during the Middle Ages, perhaps because of the often transcendental nature of both its poetry and painting. When the humanistic era arrived, however, and artists were once again concerned with representative imitation of life, a need was felt for a body of theory to support the new practices. The classics were explored and, since no treatises on painting were discovered, the critics appropriated the *Poetics* and the *Ars Poetica*, making them apply to the art of painting in a way that was never intended. Since the critics did not stop to ask whether art in a different medium could reasonably submit to a borrowed aesthetic, the resulting theory of painting was often pedantic or absurd.⁶ The seventeenth-century Italians developed this theory of painting along sounder lines, pointing out how painting resembled poetry in range and profundity of content as well as in power of expression. It was left for the later French and English critics to emphasize the purely formal correspondences: design equals plot, color equals words, and the like.⁷ Ridiculous results appeared and became widespread among otherwise cogent critics. John Dryden, for example, says that plot equals design and that "expression, and all that belongs to words, is that in a poem, which colouring is in a picture"; and, after making some remarks on design and color in the ancient poets, he goes on to say that lights and shadows are like tropes and figures.⁸

The result was a serious confusion of the arts, which led to Lessing's attempt to redefine poetry and painting and to assign to each its proper boundaries. Despite his efforts in the *Laokoön* to purify the media, the nineteenth century saw the rise of Wagner in Germany, as well as Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and the other Pre-Raphaelites in England, with their various efforts at synthesis. And today there seems to be an even more immediate and deeply metaphysical relationship between the aims of many modern poets and painters.

THIS shows that one must not be led astray into comparisons between manuscript illumination and medieval poetry

on a purely formalistic basis. The primary distinction, as Lessing pointed out, is that painting (like sculpture and architecture) is limited and fixed in the time which it can represent, and is therefore best suited to subject matter which can be handled in a static fashion. Poetry is an art which (like music and dance) moves through time and can easily indicate dynamic characteristics.

In the poetry of the Middle Ages there are both static and dynamic approaches to subject matter, and at times it appears that the writer of a poem was definitely influenced by a painter. An obvious example appears in *The King's Quair* by James I of Scotland:

This beauteous bird right in her bill did hold
Of red carnations with their stalks so green
A goodly branch, where written was with gold
On every edge with letters bright and sheen,
Proportioned fair, full pleasant to be seen,
A sentence plain, which, as I can devise
And bring to mind, said right upon this wise . . .⁹

Anyone familiar with the iconography of medieval painting will recognize at once that the device of a bird holding a legend written in gold is inspired by the conventional symbol for the Evangelist St. John. Miniatures usually show St. John at his desk, receiving divine inspiration from an eagle who has brought down the wisdom of God (in letters of gold) on a streamer of manuscript. It is curious to note that this symbol, in turn, had its origin in poetry: the Book of Revelation, IV, 6-7, states that around the throne of God there were four beasts. "And the first beast was like a lion, and the second beast like a calf, and the third beast had a face as a man, and the fourth beast was like a flying eagle." These apocalyptic beasts were looked on as the daemons, as it were, of the four Evangelists, and hence the iconography.

The kind of static description represented in the above quotation from James I can be traced in many medieval writers, and each time one is justified in suspecting a graphic-art prototype. The influence of pictures appears most often in the descriptions of costume and landscape. In Thomas Clanvowe's "The Cuckoo and the Nightingale" for example:

Till to a lawn I came all white and green,
 I in so fair a one had never been.
 The ground was green, with daisy powdered over;
 Tall were the flowers, the grove a lofty cover,
 All green and white; and nothing else was seen.¹⁰

This pattern of white daisies powdered over a green background recalls the fact that in 1392 (the approximate date of the poem) the standard practice of the illuminators was, and had been for some time, to use a diaper background for their figures.¹¹ "Diaper" was the medieval Latin name for a rich silk fabric with a pattern of flowers (or geometrical designs) woven regularly over the surface.¹² One feels that Clanvowe was more influenced by such tapestries or miniatures than by nature.

The element of static description crops up early in English poetry, and is particularly surprising in view of the dynamic and ecstatic approach to life held by the early medieval intellectual. In Layamon's *Brut*, written between 1189 and 1207, there appears the following passage:

He beheld the mountains fair and lofty
 He beheld the meadows that were full spacious;
 He beheld the waters and the wild deer;
 He beheld the fishes; beheld the fowls;
 Beheld the leas and those lovely woods.¹³

And so it is throughout the medieval period. In the fourteenth century the alliterative *Morte Arthur* contains

The enclosure was encompassed and closed all about,
 With clover and with cleve-wort clad evenly all over;
 The vale was environed with vines of silver,
 All with grapes of gold— greater grew never,
 Surrounded with shrubs and all kinds of trees,
 Arbors most handsome and herdsmen thereunder.¹⁴

Sometimes these descriptions so close to paintings in their treatment are actually identified as such. In Lydgate's *Temple of Glass* appears:

Presently, as I walked softly, if I shall report the truth, I saw painted on every wall from east to west many a fair image of sundry lovers, arranged according to their age as if they were real, with lifelike colors, wondrous fresh of hue. And methought I saw some sitting and standing, and some kneeling with petitions in their

hands, and some with woeful and piteous complaints to lay with doleful cheer before Venus as she sat floating in the sea, beseeching her to have pity on their woe. First of all I saw there Dido, the queen of Carthage, godly of countenance, who complained her fate, how she was deceived by Aeneas in spite of his promises and sworn oaths, and who said, "Alas that ever she was born," when she saw that she must die.¹⁵

But here one sees the poet losing himself as Homer did in his description of the shield of Achilles: what is said to be a painting suddenly starts to speak!

The precise effect of the miniature artists and the fresco painters on the poets is impossible to ascertain. It has been remarked that "the cultural progression in the Middle Ages began, as is well known, in classical literature and art on the one hand and in Christian theology on the other, moved into art and then finally appeared in literature, while all the time there were cross and counter influences."¹⁶ The influence moves back and forth, as in the case of the legend-carrying bird. So, too, in the case of landscapes. Layamon and others used a completely static presentation of fairly realistic subject matter. In the painting of his period, however, landscape was treated in an anti-realistic manner which continued until at least the fourteenth century. One critic suggests that the naturalistic treatment of landscape did not begin until the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* was painted by Pol de Limbourg and others about 1415.¹⁷ Another critic, however, believes that light and shade were introduced in the atelier of Jean Pucelle, and that air began to flow around the figures in the *Psalter of Jeanne II de France*, made about 1305.¹⁸ In either case one concludes that poets began using set pieces before painters, at least as far as illusionistic landscapes are concerned.

IN the descriptions of people — their persons and clothing — the development is more straightforward. There seems to be definite evidence of the profound influence that miniatures came to have on poetry. In the earlier examples the treatment is like this description of Arthur in the *Brut*:

When he had arrayed all, and all seemed ready,
 He did on his byrny, made of linked steel,
 Which an elvish smith made with his noble craft;
 It was called Wigar, and a wizard wrought it.
 He hid his shanks in hose of steel.
 Caliburn, his sword, he swung at his side;
 It was wrought in Avalon with cunning craft . . .
 He took in hand his spear, which was called Ron.
 When he had all his weeds, he leapt on his steed.¹⁹

Here the poet presents his hero in action, and the point of view is that of a man viewing another preparing for battle. And so in the case of *Havelok*: the description does not dwell on surface appearance, but makes use of incidentals to portray the hero:

His fame went far, how he was meek and strong and fair, and how he had nothing to wear save one clumsy wretched coat. Then the cook took pity on him and bought him new clothes, stockings and shoes, and he put them on quickly. When he was clothed, no one on earth was fairer, nor did any in the kingdom seem more fit to be king.²⁰

This use of significant attributes parallels the practice of the illustrators of religious works; and since these descriptions date from before the appearance of lay figures in miniatures, there seems to have been no direct influence of the painters on the poets.

However, the situation changes completely in the late fourteenth century: the poets' presentation of character becomes the actual word-painting of a picture. In *Saint Erkenwald* (c.1386) the judge is

Arrayed in rich manner, in royal weeds.
 All with glistening gold his gown was hemmed,
 With many precious pearls mounted thereon;
 And a girdle of gold encircled his middle.
 A large mantle was over them, furred with miniver,
 The cloth of fine camel's hair, with comely borders;
 And on his coif was placed a very rich crown,
 And a splendid sceptre was set in his hand.²¹

The elaborate set descriptions of the persons in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* illustrate the point at length, as does this passage about the gay lady of Thomas of Erceldoune (c. 1388-1400):

Her girths of noble silk they were,
 The buckles were of beryl stone;
 Her stirrups were of crystal clear,
 And all with pearls in beauty shone.
 Her poitrel was of coral fine,
 Her crupper was of orphery;
 Her bridle was of gold most fine,
 On either side did hang bells three.
 She led three greyhounds in a leash,
 And seven raches by her raced;
 She bore a horn about her neck,
 And arrows in her belt were placed.²²

Throughout the fourteenth century the influence of the painters led poets to change their style from the simple, active touches of the earlier period to an attempt to rival the ornately decorated manuscripts which were coming into fashion, with their static effects of pageantry.

In contrast to this, and showing the further evolution of character presentation, is the style of Robert Henryson a hundred years later (c. 1462). Mercury comes in singing,

His scalloped hood, wound in a scarlet pile,
 Was like a poet's of old-fashioned style.
 Boxes he bore with fine electuaries,
 All sugared syrups for digestion known,
 Spices belonging to apothecaries,
 With wholesome sweet confections of renown;
 Doctor of Physic, clad in scarlet gown,
 Well trimmed with fur, befitting one so high,
 Honest and good, he could not tell a lie.
 Next Lady Cynthia came after him,
 The last of all and swiftest in her sphere,
 Adorned with horns, of color black and grim,
 And in the night she best likes to appear,
 Livid as lead, of color nothing clear;
 For all her light she borrows from her brother,
 Titan, for by herself she has no other.²³

Mercury and Cynthia are interpreted neither in the simple twelfth-century nor in the static fourteenth-century style. Here elaborate materials are used in an emotional and organic way. As in the early period, the practice of poetry parallels that of

painting without imitating it. The Crucifixion in the Hours of Elysabeth Ye Quene²⁴ shows the bloody body of Christ and a face of agony. The coarsely laughing Roman soldiers increase the pathos, which is revealed in the sensitive expressions of Mary and the women. The extremely ornate border with its multitude of colors and tendrils is paralleled closely by the sophisticated descriptions of Henryson.

IN addition to the landscapes and personal descriptions there are certain "icons" which occur in secular poetry and painting. One of the most frequent figures is that of the pagan goddess Fortuna and her Wheel. She turns up in Alfred's *Boethius*, the alliterative *Morte Arthur*, many times in Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate; in Hoccleve, Dunbar, Henryson, and Malory, to mention only the most outstanding authors. The concept of a goddess of Fortune was one of the pagan ideas which Christianity never had (and never has) rooted out. Boethius accepted both the Roman goddess and the Christian God without exactly reconciling the two. Dante, in the seventh canto of the *Inferno*, turns her into an angel subservient to the Christian God. But whatever the point of view, the fact that Fortune was personified as a woman meant that she was a ready subject for the painter's brush. Howard Patch, in his book on the subject, reproduces several such drawings and comments: "It seems likely that the idea [of the wheel] originated in art from its peculiarly visual quality."²⁵ The conventional scheme for the drawing is this: "On the top of the wheel is a crowned youth, sitting on a throne and holding a sceptre; at the right is a figure falling, his crown dropping from his head; at the bottom is a figure prostrate; on the left is a man climbing, extending his hands toward the youth at the top. The figures are inscribed respectively, Regno, Regnavi, Sum sine Regno, and Regnabo."²⁶ Almost any example from poetry will illustrate the primarily visual, rather than abstract, treatment of the subject:

About she whirled a wheel with her white hands,
Turned most skilfully the wheel as she would.
The rim was of red gold with royal stones,
Arrayed in richness and rubies in plenty;

The spokes were resplendent with splinters of silver,
 The space of a spear-length springing most fairly;
 Thereon was a chair of chalk-white silver,
 And checkered with carbuncle, changing in hues;
 To the circumference there clung king in a row . . .²⁷

Here again the influence is reciprocal, because the development of the concept was not the work of any one poet or painter but of the interaction of hundreds.

For one final example of how literature first sets up an idea which is taken over and developed by the graphic arts, one may turn to the subject of the Vices and Virtues. In an early fifth-century work, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the conflicting forces of the soul are personified as female figures. The Virtues fight with the Vices, and defeat them. The vividness of Prudentius's tale was so attractive to artists that even today sixteen illustrated manuscripts of the work are in existence. The earliest drawings (ninth century) reproduce the explicit text fairly literally, giving a clear and detailed presentation of the course of the struggle, the figures designed after Roman classical models.²⁸ By the eleventh century, the figures wear contemporary costume, and certain scenes resemble tournaments; the Virtues appear as nuns and the Vices as townswomen. These in turn became incorporated in enamels, mosaics, frescoes, ivories, and stone sculptures.²⁹ The characters thus popularized became the deadly sins and cardinal virtues which appear throughout medieval didactic literature. According to Katzenellenbogen, "The originally realistic nature of the pictures was gradually transformed into a frequently terrifying unnaturalness, until finally there was a renewed approach to reality."³⁰ Precisely this happened in literature. In Prudentius, Avaritia greedily collects the treasures abandoned by Luxuria. In the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsberg (twelfth century) there is a rigid uniformity, with the figures represented as unrealistic knights.³¹ And in the fourteenth century, Langland presents Covetousness:

He was beetled-browed, with two bleary eyes,
 And his cheeks hung loose like a leather purse.
 He wore a torn tabard twelve winters old;
 Unless a louse could leap, I do not believe
 It could cross that cloth, so threadbare it was.³²

Most of these observations have been drawn from poetry. If it were possible, it would be important to study the drawings and paintings directly inspired by poems. The most obvious example would be the Pearl Manuscript, which contains four full-page illustrations for "Pearl," two for "Cleanness," one and a half for "Patience," and four for "Sir Gawain." Unfortunately, the quality of these drawings is extremely inferior. Much more significant is the wealth of miniatures which illustrate the Charlemagne poems, the romances of Troy, the story of Alexander, the King Arthur themes, and the various non-cyclic romances.

A magnificent job remains for the scholar who has access to the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale and can make a thorough study of secular manuscript illumination. In the meantime, a start has been made by Helmut Hatzfeld in his *Literature through Art*.³³ Mr. Wylie Sypher is also at work on the subject, and, if one can judge from sections already published, his book will be a most significant contribution. The study of the relationship between the arts is becoming more and more important as the barriers between them are broken down.

Notes

1. Aristotle, *Poetics*, II, 1. He goes on to say that both poets and painters imitate men as better or worse than ourselves or much as we are, Polygnotus depicting them as better, Pauson as worse, and Dionysius as like ourselves.

2. *Ibid.*, VI, 15.

3. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 1-13. This coupling of painting with poetry on grounds of imaginative freedom has become a commonplace of criticism. Amusing instances of the grotesque in painting occur in the marginalia of the Rennes Book of Hours, and more particularly in the Luttrell Psalter, an English work of about 1335, where modern surrealism is not only anticipated but even surpassed. A facsimile of this psalter, edited by E. G. Miller, is in the Boston Public Library.

4. *Ibid.*, 361-365. Later writers on art, ignoring the context and adapting the simile to their own purposes, read "as is poetry so is painting."

5. Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniensium*, III, 346f.

6. The application of a practical mind to the matter produced curious results, as in Leonardo's *Paragone: A Comparison of the Arts*, trans. I. A. Richter (Oxford, 1949).

7. Discussion of this appears in W. G. Howard, "Ut Pictura Poesis," *P.M.L.A.*, XXIV, 1909, 40-123.

8. From Dryden's preface to his translation of Du Fresnoy's "A Parallel of Painting and Poetry," as quoted by R. W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis," *Art Bulletin*, XXII, 1940, 197-272.

9. Stanza 178, as edited by Lawson and Mackenzie, quoted in Loomis and Willard, *Medieval English Verse and Prose*, (New York, 1948), 371.

10. L. 61-65, Wordsworth's modernization as quoted in Loomis and Willard, *op. cit.*, 335.

11. Examples are frequent in Volume II of O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*; see, for example, plates 106-08.

12. For full-color illustrations of the "milles fleurs" tapestries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see *Art News Annual*, 1948, 1-29.

13. L. 122-26, Loomis and Willard, *op. cit.*, 6.

14. L. 3240-45, *ibid.*, 130.

15. L. 22-32, *ibid.*, 252.

16. M. W. Bloomfield, review of Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices*, in *Speculum*, XVI, 1941, 496.

17. Cyril Bunt, *Gothic Painting* (London, 1947), 30.

18. Joan Evans, *Art in Medieval France*, (London, 1942), 214.

19. L. 605-21, Loomis and Willard, *op. cit.*, 18-19.

20. L. 24-28, *ibid.*, 79.

21. L. 77-84, *ibid.*, 241.

22. L. 29-40, *ibid.*, 266.

23. L. 244-259, *ibid.*, 467-68. Modern version by M. W. Stearns.

24. O. E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, Vol. II, plate 125.

25. Howard Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 164.

26. *Ibid.*

27. L. 3260-68 from *Morte Arthur*, Loomis and Willard, *op. cit.*, 130-131.

28. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices* (London, 1939), 4.

29. Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, contains 76 plates of these.

30. *Ibid.*, 25.

31. *Ibid.*, 10.

32. L. 109-13, Loomis and Willard, *op. cit.*, 303.

33. Helmut Hatzfeld, *Literature through Art* (New York, 1952). The standard reference for anyone going into the field would be Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art Profane* (La Haye, 1931). This book is in the Boston Public Library.

Poe's Libel Suit Against T. D. English

By FRANCIS B. DEDMOND

EDGAR ALLAN POE and Dr. Thomas Dunn English met in 1839 in Philadelphia in the office of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. William E. Burton, the owner, introduced the two; and Dr. English was favorably impressed with Poe's appearance and manner. So much was he impressed that, as the months wore on, he became a frequent visitor in the Poe household. Later, both men left Philadelphia and went to New York. There, at the old Stryker's Bay Tavern that overhung the stream which then ran into the Hudson at Ninety-sixth Street, they met again in 1844.¹ A year later, it seems, they were still on friendly terms, for in the October 1845 issue of English's journal, *The Aristidean*, there appeared a somewhat favorable review of Poe's *Tales*. However, near the end of 1845, a hostility flared up, and the two engaged in a violent fist fight, both later claiming the victory. According to Thomas H. Lane, who witnessed the battle and whose account was set down by a relative, the decision, if one had to be rendered, would have gone to English on points: "Poe was drunk and getting the worst of it, and was finally forced partly under the sofa, only his face being out. English was punching Poe's face, and at every blow a seal ring on his finger cut Poe. Lane hastened to separate them, when Poe cried out, 'Let him alone. I've got him just where I want him.'"²

But the real rupture, which was never to be mended, came with Poe's caustic attack on English in the July 1846 installment of "The Literati of New York City" in *Godey's Lady's Book*. (This issue was out about June 15.) Of English Poe wrote:

No spectacle can be more pitiable than that of a man without the commonest school education busying himself in attempts to instruct mankind on topics of polite literature. The absurdity in such cases does not lie merely in the ignorance displayed by the would-be instructor, but in the transparency of the shifts by which he endeavors to keep this ignorance concealed . . . I do not personally know Mr. English.³

English lost no time in replying; and in what the New York *Evening Mirror*, June 23, 1846, which printed the attack, called a "terrific rejoinder," he claimed very definite knowledge of Poe, accusing him of forgery and other offenses.⁴

I know Mr. Poe by a succession of his acts — one of which is rather costly. I hold Mr. Poe's acknowledgment for a sum of money which he obtained of me under false pretenses. As I stand in need of it at this time, I am content he should forget to know me, provided he acquits himself of the money he owes me. I ask no interest, in lieu of which I am willing to credit him with the sound cuffing I gave him when I last saw him.⁵

And he concluded:

He mistakes coarse abuse for polished invective, and vulgar insinuation for sly satire. He is not alone thoroughly unprincipled, base and depraved, but silly, vain and ignorant — not alone an assassin in morals, but a quack in literature. His frequent quotations from languages of which he is entirely ignorant, and his consequent blunders expose him to ridicule; while his cool plagiarisms from known or forgotten writers, excite the public amazement. He is a complete evidence of his own assertion, that "no spectacle can be more pitiable than that of a man without the commonest school education, busying himself in attempts to instruct mankind on topics of polite literature." If he deserves credit for any thing, it is for his frankness in acknowledging a fact which his writings so triumphantly demonstrate.⁶

In this battle Poe did have English just where he wanted him; and he prepared to press his advantage. On June 27 — four days after the article by English appeared — he wrote to Henry Beck Hirst, asking him for aid in securing information damaging to English:

I wish now, to ask if you can oblige me by a fair account of your duel with English. I would take it as a great favor, also, if you would get from Sanday Harris a statement of the fracas with *him*. See Du Solle, also, if you can & ask him if he is willing to give me, for publication, an account of his kicking E. out of his office.

I gave E. a flogging which he will remember to the day of his death — and, luckily, in the presence of witnesses. He thinks to avenge himself by lies — by [*sic*] I shall be a match for him by means of simple truth.⁷

His reply to English appeared on July 10, 1846, in the Phila-

delphia *Spirit of the Times*. He was already thinking of a lawsuit against the editor and proprietor of the *Evening Mirror* for defamation of character:

It will be admitted by the most patient that these accusations are of such character as to justify me in rebutting them in the most public manner possible, even when they are found to be urged by a Thomas Dunn English. The charges are criminal, and with the aid of "The Mirror" I can have them investigated before a criminal tribunal.⁸

He also denied at least one of English's charges:

To the first charge I reply, then, simply that Mr. English is indebted *to me* in what (to me) is a considerable sum — that I owe him nothing — that in the assertion that he holds my acknowledgement for a sum of money under any pretence obtained, he lies — and that I defy him to produce such acknowledgement.⁹

And he went on:

These are the facts which, in a court of justice, I propose to demonstrate — and, having demonstrated them, shall I not have a right to demand of a generous public that it brand with eternal infamy that wretch, who, with a full knowledge of my exculpation from so heinous a charge, has not been ashamed to take advantage of my supposed inability to defend myself, for the purpose of stigmatising me as a felon!¹⁰

As he said in a letter to Louis A. Godey on July 16, 1846, he had never written an article upon which he more confidently depended for his literary reputation. Some time before, he had sent the reply to Godey, requesting that it be printed in *The Lady's Book*. Godey, however, had it published in the Philadelphia *Spirit of the Times* at a cost of ten dollars, and sent the bill to Poe. "I regret that you published my Reply in 'The Times,'" Poe wrote. "I am rather ashamed that, knowing me to be as poor as I am, you should have thought it advisable to make a demand *on me* of the \$10 . . . I have put this matter in the hands of a competent attorney, and you shall see the results. Your charge, \$10, will of course be brought before the court, as an item, when I speak of damages."¹¹

English's answer appeared in Hiram Fuller's *Evening Mirror* on July 13, 1846. He wrote:

Actuated by the desire for the public good, I charged Mr. Poe with the commission of certain misdemeanors, which prove him to be profligate in habits and depraved in mind. The most serious of these he admits by silence — the remainder he attempts to palliate; and winds up his tedious disquisition by a threat to resort to a legal prosecution. This is my full desire. Let him institute a suit, if he dare, and I pledge myself to make my charges good by the most ample and satisfactory evidence.¹²

POE accepted the challenge. Through his attorney, E. L. Fancher, he presented his declaration of grievances, charging Hiram Fuller and Augustus W. Clason, Jr., part-owner with Fuller in the publishing firm, with libel, and asking five thousand dollars in damages. On July 23, 1846, the declaration, no part of which has been published before, was filed in the New York Superior Court. Poe claimed that before the libelous statements were printed he "was always reported, esteemed and accepted by and amongst all his neighbors, and other good and worthy citizens of this State, to whom he was in any wise known, to be a person of good name, fame and credit." He further charged:

. . . the said defendants well knowing the premises, but greatly envying the happy State and condition of the said plaintiff and contriving and wickedly and maliciously intending to injure the said plaintiff, in his good name, fame and credit, and to bring him into public scandal, infamy and disgrace, with and amongst all his neighbors and other good and worthy citizens of the State, and to cause it to be suspected and believed by those neighbors and citizens that he the said plaintiff had been guilty of obtaining money under false pretences and of the offences and misconduct hereinafter mentioned to have been imputed to him, and to subject him to the pains and penalties of the Laws of this State made and provided against, and inflicted upon persons guilty thereof; and to vex, harass, oppress, impoverish, and wholly ruin him, the said plaintiff . . .¹³

The declaration then lists specifically the libelous matter in English's statements — libels which were reputed to have caused "divers" of Poe's neighbors and others to refuse "to have any transaction, acquaintance or discourse with him . . . as they were before used and accustomed to have and otherwise would have had."

On the day that the declaration was filed, Poe informed William Gilmore Simms, who was then in New York, of his action. Simms answered a week later, expressing his keen disappointment. "Sympathy," Simms admitted, "may soothe the hurts of self-esteem, and make a man temporarily forgetful of his assailants," but what Poe must realize was that he was now, perhaps, in "the most perilous period" of his career, "when a false step becomes a capital error." He should subdue his impulses and especially "discard all associations with men, whatever their talents," whom he could not esteem as men. Simms told Poe that it was he who some years before counselled Godey to obtain contributions from him; and he added: "I hear that you reproach him. But how can you expect a magazine proprietor to encourage contributions which embroil him with all his neighbors. The broils do you no good — vex your temper, destroy your peace of mind, and hurt your reputation."¹⁴

But Poe was in no frame of mind to turn back. On August 4 the preliminary hearing was held in the New York City Hall, and the defendants, through their attorney, William H. Paine, pleaded not guilty to the charges of libel. Poe again denied the charges of false pretenses and forgery, and the trial was scheduled for the first Monday in September. However, it was later postponed until the first Monday in February, 1847.

The records are not explicit about the reasons for the delay. Following the filing of Poe's declaration, English hurriedly left for Washington, D. C., and in the absence of the chief witness the issues could not be decided. His testimony was not available when the case was called on the first Monday in February, and the Superior Court ordered a further delay until the third Monday. At the same time, it ordered that a commission be directed to receive English's deposition in Washington.

The deposition was "produced, sworn, and examined" on February 11.¹⁵ English stated that Poe had borrowed thirty dollars from him in order to buy the *Broadway Journal*. "Mr. Poe," he declared, "not only never repaid me the money but never conveyed nor offered to convey to me an interest in said journal. This and the fact that I afterwards learned that the said journal was not a profitable investment, constituted the false pretences to which I referred in the article alluded to in

this Interrogatory." He also explained that the charge of forgery was made against Poe by a merchant in Broad Street, whose name he forgot. "Mr. Poe stated to me that this gentleman was jealous of him and his visits to Mrs. Frances S. Osgood, the writer, the wife of S. S. Osgood, the artist . . . and that supposing him, Mr. Poe, to be a favored rival, he had cautioned Mrs. Osgood against receiving his, Poe's visits, alleging to her that he, Poe, had been guilty of forgery upon his, Poe's, uncle" — a charge which, English maintained, Poe's subsequent action virtually proved.

However, the "merchant in Broad Street" — Edward J. Thomas — later testified in court that Poe had written to him and asked what he had said about forgery. The merchant had then immediately sought out the person who had originally mentioned it to him, but the latter now denied ever having made such a charge against Poe: "I suppose, said the witness, that I had misunderstood him. I wrote a letter to Mr. Poe, informing him of the denial and retraction."¹⁶

At the completion of the investigation, the court asked the jury to decide "whether the publications were true or not, or if there is mitigation in relation to them as to the character of Mr. Poe." In its verdict, the jury declared the defendants guilty as charged. Fuller and Clason were assessed \$101.48 for court costs and charges, and Poe was awarded \$225 damages.¹⁷

Though he received only a small fraction of the \$5,000 which he had sought, Poe felt himself vindicated, and was proud of the fact that the judgment had been awarded in his favor.¹⁸

Notes

1. Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1926), II, 614.

2. In T. O. Mabbott and W. H. Gravely, Jr., "Two Replies to 'A Minor Poe Mystery,'" *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, V (April, 1944), 107.

3. *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. J. A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XV, 65. Hereafter cited as *Works*.

4. The phrase "The War of the Literati" was used as a headline for this article, which was entitled "Mr. English's Reply to Mr. Poe."

5. *Works*, XVII, 234-235.

6. *Ibid.*, 238-239.

7. *The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. John Ward Ostrom (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, 321. Hereafter cited as *Letters*.
8. *Works*, XVII, 249-250.
9. *Ibid.*, 250. Poe claimed that English had never paid him for his article "American Poetry," which English published in *The Aristidean*, I (November, 1845), 373-382.
10. *Works*, XVII, 252.
11. *Letters*, II, 323-24 (Manuscript now in the Boston Public Library).
12. *Works*, XVII, 254.
13. Declaration, Edgar A. Poe, *vs.* Hiram Fuller and Augustus W. Clason, Junior, July 23, 1846 (MS, Hall of Records, Office of the County Clerk, New York County, New York).
14. William Gilmore Simms to Edgar A. Poe, New York, July 30, 1846 (Griswold MSS, the Boston Public Library).
15. Deposition, Hiram Fuller and Augustus W. Clason, Junior, *vs.* Edgar A. Poe, February 11, 1847 (MS, Hall of Records, Office of the County Clerk, New York County, New York). A large part of the "Interrogatories" and "Deposition" was published in Carl Schreiber, "A Close-Up of Poe," *The Saturday Review of Literature*, III (October 9, 1926), 165-167.
16. *New York Tribune*, February 18, 1847, p. 3, col. 2.
17. Judgment Record, Edgar A. Poe *vs.* Hiram Fuller and Augustus W. Clason, Jr., filed February 22, 1847 (MS, Hall of Records, Office of the County Clerk, New York County, New York).
18. See *Letters*, II, 348-9.

Letters by Barrie to the Duchess of Sutherland

By MARY H. MALANY

ON December 14, 1936, James M. Barrie's last play, *The Boy David*, opened to a capacity audience at His Majesty's Theatre in London. For Barrie, then seventy-six, this was a final attempt to produce a successful play. Almost a year earlier, on January 18, he had outlined to his friend Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, his plans for the work. The letter tells a great deal about the author and the end of the Georgian era. Kipling, "the last of our great ones," Barrie wrote to the Duchess, was gone, and King George himself was seriously ill. The Adelphi, his home for decades, was to be destroyed in the march of "progress." Barrie felt alone: "Truth to tell," he wrote, "I am now done with animals except for an Angus canary with which I share this old flat, and you should hear us conversing together of an evening. He comes out of his cage to fly about the rooms and even sits on my cigar without disturbing the ash." It was a picture, he declared, of many of his evenings. "The canary and I had our Christmas time alone," he told the Duchess.

Despite his retirement, Barrie had not given up the dream of resuming literary life. Although, except for *Peter Pan*, it was six years since the last major revival of any of his plays, he hoped for another dramatic success.¹ He had written *The Boy David*, which he described to Millicent:

My stodgy life of inertness got a shock lately by my taking up the literary life again after long years and writing another play. In the cold blood of re-reading, it now depresses me, but I am thankful to say that I got quite a zest and pleasure out of the writing and leapt at it in the mornings as in old times. There are no love passages in it, nor is there a heroine, things I had not noticed until it was well-nigh finished, indeed it is all about men — an Old Testament story dealing with David and Saul — David when he was a boy is to be played by Elizabeth Bergner and that is my chance of pulling it through. It should be produced in a couple of months or so.

The idea had originated with Miss Bergner herself, and both

the author and the talented German actress were optimistic. The play, however, plagued constantly by difficulties in production, was not enthusiastically received. After months of work, despite his hopes, Barrie saw the play close on January 30, 1937.

To many present-day critics, and perhaps to many readers, Barrie is the product of a bygone age. To a world which since 1936 has seen so much brutality and horror Barrie is pathetically naive, his sentiments almost trivial. Yet he was a successful playwright and a highly esteemed novelist, and some of his works continue to enjoy popularity today. Indeed, Barrie suffered few failures; from the publication of his first important work, *The Little Minister* (1891), he was a recognized author. *Sentimental Tommy* (1896) and its sequel, *Tommy and Grizel* (1900), his other two well-known novels, have been greatly admired. As a dramatist, he was even more successful. A long list of plays — from *The Professor's Love Story* (1892) through *Quality Street* (1901), *The Admirable Crichton* (1902), *Peter Pan* (1904), *What Every Woman Knows* (1908), and *Dear Brutus* (1917) — testifies to his achievement.

In all his work Barrie displays striking literary merits. He has an amazing ability to delineate character carefully while expressing sympathy for the people whose eccentricities and self-deceptions he mocks. Phoebe Throssel, the "admirable" Crichton, Matey, and Lady Caroline, to mention a few of his most memorable figures, possess the reality of Dickens's creations. These figures bring a warmth to his work which balances the airy fancy that in some of his plays makes the real seem unreal. His humor is playful, rarely sardonic, and the whimsy which cloaks his analyses of complex human relationships results in a unique charm.

Barrie admired the Duchess greatly, for she was beautiful, intelligent, and clever. The eldest daughter of the fourth Earl of Rosslyn, she was the wife of the fourth Duke of Sutherland, after whose death in 1913 she married Brigadier General Percy Desmond Fitzgerald, and later Lt. Col. George Ernest Hawes. An energetic leader of society, she also had literary ambitions and was a friend of many writers and stage people. Barrie met her in 1906. He was forty-six, and she thirty-nine. In his biography, Denis Mackail describes the author's reaction to the

prospect of meeting the noble lady.² To a London friend he wrote with child-like enthusiasm: "On Sunday I am dining with a duchess . . . next week-end I am dining with a duchess."

Yet Barrie distrusted the aristocracy, especially its women members.³ Lady Phippenworth in *Tommy and Grisel* and Lady Sybil Tenterden in *What Every Woman Knows* show what he considered the callousness and hypocrisy of the titled class. But he could not resist romanticizing Millicent into a fabulous creature. He avoided her friends, noblemen and artists alike. "I don't really care a rap about meeting Max Reinhardt: what I want is that we should meet without him and pretend that he is there," he wrote her in December 1911. In fact, he wished to escape all social obligations. "I shall come if I can summon up courage," he wrote on another occasion, "but it terrifies me to go to anything." In one letter Barrie teased the Duchess:

This battleship you are to launch sets my mind off on a new subject. A battleship and a young woman are launched on the same day. Ten years afterwards which of them has done most good or harm? Would the country have been saved a million if instead of launching the ship they had just drowned the lady?

But he yearned for her company:

How delightful it would be if I were in calling distance of you. Just conceive me looking old and weary, and then you appear round the clachan. Is it too good to be true? I hear of you being in London occasionally after you have gone, but I never hear from yourself, which certainly makes me sad. Nor of that play which I hoped to know well by this time. Do come and be seen again, and disregard those other people. They can't need you so much as I do, and even tho' they did, disregard them just the same.

BARRIE'S letters to the Duchess of Sutherland — recently acquired by the Boston Public Library — are interesting literary pieces as well as enlightening documents. Delightfully written, they portray his admiration for the sophisticated, glamorous Duchess, whom he wrote to as "Dear Millie," and yet whom he always felt to be unapproachable. They show his loneliness in the midst of success and fame, his love of elegance in others, while himself forced by temperament to simplicity, his sympathy with, and fear of, people, whose foibles he could

present so amusingly. There is also pathos in his need for emotional attachments, frustrated by his shyness and objectivity. These twenty-nine letters to the Duchess display the author's many moods. He is serious; he is gay; he is fanciful and inert; he is the popular writer acclaimed for his genius; he is the man alone. The letters cover thirty years, and were written from London, Switzerland, and Scotland, between March 28, 1906 and January 18, 1936.

Throughout the correspondence Barrie discusses his literary activities. With tongue in cheek he tells of his short stories, "mostly of no account," except one about four charwomen ("The Old Lady Shows Her Medals"). In May 1908 he wrote to the Duchess that he was going to Paris "when *Peter Pan* is there." He might have had difficulty with *Peter Pan*, ultimately his most successful play; had it not been for the confidence of Charles Frohman, the New York producer, the work might never have attained its success.⁴ He likewise discusses *The Adored One*, presented as *The Legend of Leonora* in America. It might be called *The Murderess*, he told Millicent, and commented that it was the kind of play he liked, "just people talking."

Even in his early years of writing, Barrie had difficulty composing. He showed great dissatisfaction with his work, and it irked him to "poke away" at a play when he would rather plunge into the midst of it. Although he took his writing most seriously, at times his devotion to a literary career amused him. In November 1912 he wrote to the Duchess:

One day I had an idea and arose (very wrong) and wrote a whole one-act play, stock, lock, and barrel, and then returned to bed. It is however so fearfully written (not like this careful hand of write) that tho' I know it to be superb I cannot make it out, and I lie staring at it, trying in vain to pierce its beautiful secrets.

Most of all, Barrie feared literary sterility. As the years passed and his health failed, he found it increasingly difficult to write. This depressed him greatly. In 1924 he sent a pathetic note to "Millie": "I have even ceased to ease my conscience by vowing to begin something on the morrow. If you don't stir me up I shall be putting up a notice on my forehead, saying 'These premises are permanently closed.'"

The letters are filled with references to the literary great of

the period. George Meredith, he flattered Millicent, "would have loved to put you on his mantlepiece." Arnold Bennett's *Milestones* he considered a good play. A new anecdote about Bret Harte amused him and he related it to the Duchess: "When he went to Glasgow to be consul his landlady walked into his room and said sternly, 'Mr. Harte, I've unpacked your things, and wherever is your Bible?'" The letters also include a delightful story about Stevenson: "R.L.S. told me he once went into a Sydney bookseller's and they knew him and offered him all the able stuff of the day, but what he went with was 'The Pirate's Lair' and 'Bill the Buccaneer's Bride.'"

He also gives an affectionate impression of his friend and loyal producer, Charles Frohman who, as the *Lusitania* carried him to death, remembered Barrie's poignant line, "To die will be an awfully big adventure."⁵ Barrie's ability to tell a story, his delight at life's little jokes, his desire to entertain his reader are all reflected in his description of Frohman in a letter of April 26, 1912. The Duchess had written to him that she was to undergo an operation, and Barrie answered in an attempt to cheer her up:

I hope when the surgeon worries you won't convulse him as Mr. Frohman did the other day. Fripp was at him, and just as he was about to begin, happened to ask him what English doctor he had had on some previous occasion. F. who is not strong on names — he muddles up names so extraordinarily that if he comes on one that sticks to him he is so pleased that he at once makes the bearer a "star" — said he had had Hamilton Bruce. This turned out to be Robson Rorse. But this is how he had had him. Having had pains all over he was advised to go to R. R. Instead of going himself he sent an emissary who represented himself as being Frohman, described the pains as his own, was examined and told what to do, and Rorse never knew that it had not been the real patient.

His remarks on John Galsworthy, brief though they are, amount almost to a character sketch. On March 9, 1919 he wrote to the Duchess:

You want to know what G. is like. A queer fish like the rest of us. So sincerely weighed down by the out-of-jointedness of things socially that internally he is woebegone but outwardly a man-about-town, so neat, so correct — he would go to the stake for his opinions but he would go courteously raising his hat. The other day he was flung out of a hansom, and went as gracefully as if he

were leaving his card. That is him today, but he has been all its opposites. I think he was once a cowboy, I have hopes he has been a pirate. He has been everywhere and done most things, and what turned him from the one man into the other I don't know. He used to care for nothing but frivolity: shooting big game, and now so serious and would not put a pin in a butterfly.

Continuing, he tells what he calls a "curious story":

Once he was in San Francisco, decided to learn sailing. Engaged as apprentice on a boat, was sent to see it unloading. The mate he was to sail under seemed a terrible fellow, blackavized, full of horrid oaths which he roared to his men. G. thought, "I shall have a time under this mate," but he signed and went. The mate was Joseph Conrad.

In June 1911 the great Shakespeare Ball, one of the most dazzling social events of the days before the first World War, was staged for the benefit of the National Theatre. English society dressed up, posed in tableaux, and danced at a tremendous masquerade at the Albert Hall. Barrie was greatly interested in the Duchess's plans for her costume. He suggested that she appear as Alice Bacon, the little-known wife of the great Chancellor. "Her dress," he wrote, "ought to suggest the cypher in some mysterious way, with a hint that she probably ran both Shakespeare and Bacon." The idea fascinated him, and in the letters that followed (May 24 and May 27) he gave free vent to his fancy and whimsicality. He pondered two designs for the dress, one an adaptation of the Chancellor's robes, the other a reproduction of a Mary Queen of Scots picture. Although both ideas were eventually abandoned in favor of a white gown with black lettering, with a banner and domino, he insisted that the gown should go with the lines:

Good friends, for Will and Frank forbear
To read the cypher hidden heare,
It shows I wrote my lord's essays,
As well as all of Will, his plays.

Millicent was to be "the second murderer," and Barrie furnished twenty-four cryptic remarks for lettering on her gown. They show his humor and imagination. One possible statement was: "Recd. fro my Lady Bacon for fathering her tragedie of Hamlet five pounds. W.S." And referring to Bacon's most fa-

mous work, Barrie wrote, "If my sweet chick telleth not on me about ye *Novum Organum* I will give her a new tippet, item a silver chain, item . . ." He also parodied Shakespeare and suggested such lines as "Enter a lady, hooded, carrying a parchment. Who's there? A friend," and "Twas mine, tis his," as well as "And some have greatness thrust upon them," "Beware the Ides of June," and "There was a tide in the affairs of Will, Which taken at the flood led on to fortune."

Nor did Barrie forget the theme once the ball was over. In one letter to the Duchess he expressed the thought that the trial scene of *The Merchant of Venice* should take place before an English judge and jury and be considered on its merits. In December 1911 he asked her, "If you met Shakespeare and had only one minute with him, what would you say?" He himself, incidentally, did not dress for the affair, but watched from the Duchess's box, slipping away after a short time. "My first and last ball!"

For the writing of a successful play — Barrie insisted — a freshness of approach was necessary; a "sense of the stage" was also important. Of one of the Duchess's plays, which apparently has never been played or printed, he wrote a criticism worth quoting at least in part:

The whole art of playwriting, I believe, lies in [the sense of the stage], and whether you have it instinctively or have thought it out, here it certainly is. I understand your wanting to write plays since you have the feeling for the thing in you (all this is praise but wait a bit as Meredith said to me of Henley "The man puts a crown on my head with one hand and buffets me in the stomach with the other").

Second thing is that you strike such an extraordinarily masculine note. I used to smile when you said you had been meant for a man, but honestly, except for some of your stage directions about the women's appearance, I should have guessed this play was by a man. I suppose what it really amounts to is that there is a masculine side to you which not being allowed any play in your ordinary life jumps to the front when you begin to write. Personally I don't like this side at all, I hate it. At the same time it certainly gives the play its most striking note. The thing is virile, and not a bit intuitively so, you write as if you had men's interests and thought in your heart that women were a bit of a nuisance — the people that spoil everything. There is quite a *hard* mannish point of view about it. You are not even enough of a woman here to

have favorites among your characters, and I am inclined to think this is a fault; you are too much the on-looker, you won't pretend that one of them is nicer than he (or she) really is. They are certainly alive, but you are so cold to them.

But Barrie knew well that producing a play involved more than artistic considerations, and he could be satiric about the business. Someone, he related in 1912, brought him a three-act comedy of English life. At a glance, he noted that it was a one-act comedy of Scottish life. "Thereupon the man looked more closely at it and exclaimed, 'By George, so it is' and he rushed off with it to the Bunty company and they are to produce it at the Palace on Monday week."

THE "fairy way of writing," to use Dryden's phrase, is evident in all the letters.⁶ It is this ability to impose the preternatural on the natural which makes *Peter Pan* so unique. Barrie smiled patiently at men's foolishness, and laughingly portrayed the trivia which made up their lives. From the shore of Lac Léman he wrote in 1909:

The world here is given over to lugeing. I don't know if you have a luge. (You have everything else). It is a little toboggan, and they glide down on it for ever and ever and pull it up for ever and ever, and evidently man needs little here below except his little luge. Age is annihilated, we are simply ants with luge. I say we, but by great good luck I hurt myself at once and so am debarred.

The Duchess had many definite personalities, but whether she was a "beneficent fairy" or a "public curse" Barrie could not decide. She belonged, he thought, to the past, to a "French court, I think, with lovely musketeers and an arm extended for a moment beyond the tapestry. How the d'Artagnans would have adored you, and what a damnable nuisance you would have been to both parties in the State."

Some of the most charming letters Barrie sent to the Duchess from Scourie Lodge, his place in Northern Scotland. Here is an excerpt from one of them:

This being Sunday the boys are sitting grouped talking of flies flies flies. It reminds me of a jolly place I was once at where on Sundays the golfers, all silent and all damned, wandered along the roads kicking stones into imaginary holes. Nicholas and I

have been composing a poem for you to recite about fishing at the Mod. This is what the Scourie ghillie says in it —

Mod, Mod,
 Hold up your rod,
 Then they'll say 'Och',
 'Och ay' or 'Och no'
 But certainly och,
 It's an awful stiff loch.
 He's away with your line, sir,
 Try this fly of mine, sir.
 Then they'll say 'Tut',
 'Tut ay' or 'Tut no'
 But certainly tut,
 You've rivalled your gut,
 And you've caught in the oar,
 Have you fishd, sir, before?

There it has gone and stuck for the present, but I think Nicholas knows some more.

And this from another letter :

The Hawkins's and Lucases (of *Punch*) are here, and I get the energetic ones off to the lochs and the lazy one on to the sea, and then I am alone. I have been doing that one act play about the police and their residence in the interior and call them Scourot and Vastimid after our two best lochs. The most haunting thing about this place is the leaping of the sea-trout in the bay. During dinner one hears the plop plop and sees the silver shine a hundred times, and it will be one of the last things I shall forget.

During one of his frequent illnesses, Barrie wrote a delightful yet pathetic note to the Duchess :

I can now listen to odd things happening inside me. I seem to have two little doors one on each side of me, and listening intensely (tho' it's rather like eavesdropping) I hear them opening and shutting. I conceive tiny figures running out and in, and wonder what they are up to. Very likely there is a christmas tree and lots of happy little gnomes sitting round the Yule Log.

In 1913 Barrie was made a baronet, in 1922 he was elected Rector of St. Andrew's University, and in 1928 he succeeded Thomas Hardy as president of the Society of Authors. Honors, however, failed to impress him; he remained a shy, unassuming man. "The two things I want people to say about me more than anything else," he playfully wrote in 1912, "are that I never do write oddly, and that I have beautiful eyes." Although he

avoided social life, he liked to imagine himself a man-about-town. In his letters to the Duchess he visioned himself as her masculine counterpart: well-dressed, handsome, fascinating, and witty — the toast of London. All the changes of his career, its high points and its unproductive periods, are mirrored in his letters.

Notes

1. Ethel Barrymore's appearance in *The Twelve-Pound Look* in February 1935 was short-lived. Barrie was encouraged, however, by the successful Hollywood film productions of *What Every Woman Knows* and *The Little Minister*.

2. Denis Mackail, *Barrie, The Story of J. M. B.*, (New York, 1941), 383.

3. Mackail suggests that a rebuff by a "lion-huntress" of the aristocracy in 1895 convinced Barrie that all members of the titled class belonged to a "false treacherous gang." *Op. cit.*, 225.

4. Frohman's biographers, Isaac F. Marcossan and Daniel Frohman, point out in their *Charles Frohman, Manager and Man* (New York, 1916), 169, that it required "stupendous courage" to produce a play that "from the manuscript sounded like a combination of circus extravaganza; a play in which children flew in and out of rooms, crocodiles swallowed alarm-clocks, a man exchanged places with his dog in its kennel, and various other seemingly absurd and ridiculous things happened."

5. Frohman's last words "Why fear death? It is the most beautifully big adventure" were undoubtedly suggested by Barrie's line. See J. A. Hammer-ton, *Barrie, the Story of a Genius* (New York, 1929), 443.

6. James A. Roy in *James Matthew Barrie* (New York, 1938) discusses in some detail Barrie's "fairy way of writing."

Lithographs and Drawings by Wengenroth

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

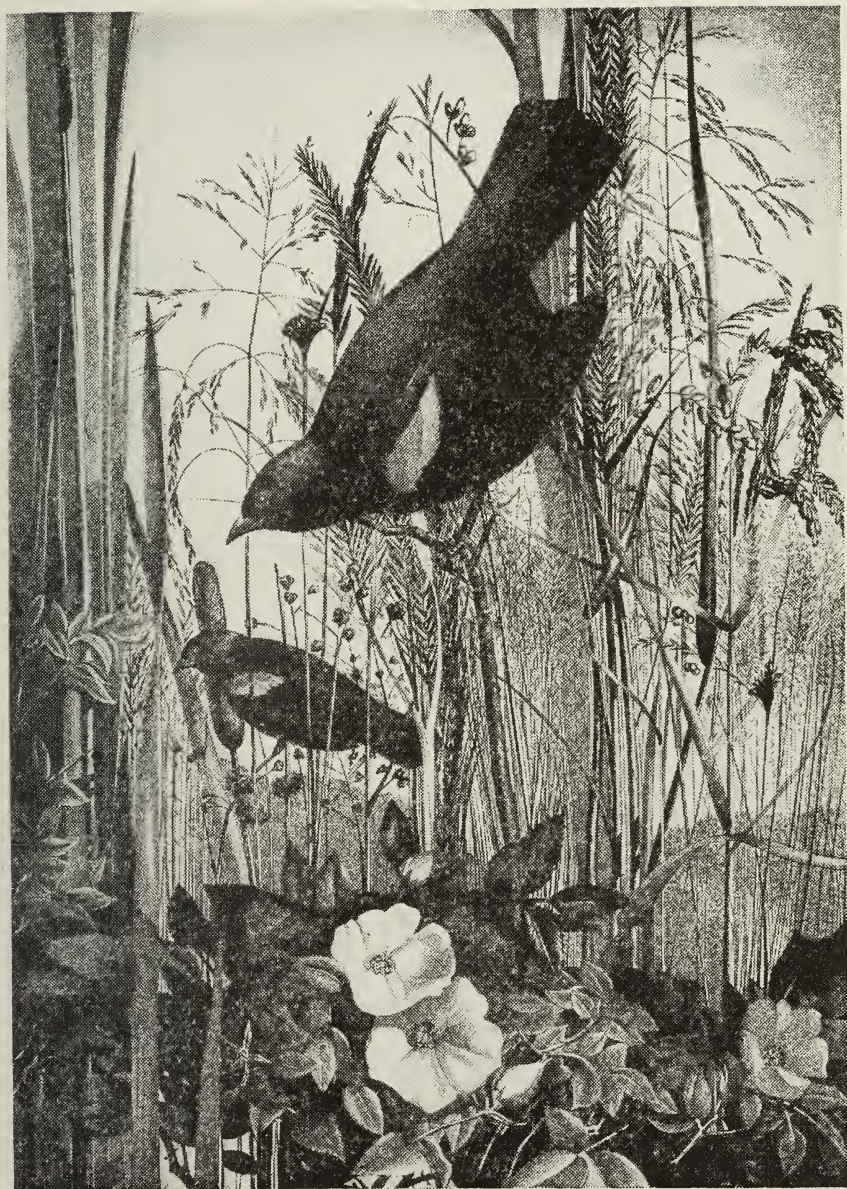
THE notable acquisition of one hundred and eighty-seven lithographs and five dry-brush drawings by Stow Wengenroth was one of the most important events in the Print Department during the year 1952. This rare gift, which represents the complete work of the artist in lithography, came to us through the generosity of Mrs. H. F. J. Knobloch, who has been an admirer and collector of Wengenroth's prints from the beginning of his productive years. In presenting this outstanding collection, Mrs. Knobloch wrote:

Stow Wengenroth has given me such a glowing account of the excellence of the exhibition space for prints in the Boston Public Library together with your fine staff, equipment, etc., that it gives me deep satisfaction and pleasure to present this complete set of his prints to the Library.

As Stow Wengenroth issues new editions of his prints, I plan to keep the Library's "Isabelle S. Knobloch Collection" complete.

It is with great satisfaction that Stow Wengenroth's name is now included among the illustrious artists of England, France, and America so fully represented in the Print Department. His exhibition, scheduled for March 1953, is being looked forward to with great interest; and that it will play its important part in our educational as well as artistic program is certain.

Stow Wengenroth was born in Brooklyn in 1906. He received his early education on Long Island and later graduated from the Brooklyn Friends' School. After a brief period of study in France, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland, he enrolled at the Art Students League and the Grand Central School of Art. That he was destined to give his life to lithography is demonstrated by his concentration on a career in this difficult medium, which produced immediate results. There seemed to be no formative period needed during the preliminary and experimental handling of crayon and stone. Being a natural crafts-



A Lithograph by Stow Wengenroth

man, the mechanics of the medium held no uncertainty for his direct approach to his subject in strong and unfaltering technique, unusual for one so new to lithography. This fact, coupled with his natural creative talent and fertile mind, is exceptional; it is a rare combination in these days when so much stress is placed on technique alone.

It is natural that we should find evidences of influences in Wengenroth's early prints, but it is interesting to note that the intrinsic value of these first efforts demonstrates individual expression and originality. Today he stands solidly on his own methods and ideas, having built up a style thoroughly suited to his temperament and at his command to translate his every mood. This, added to a fine talent, will pave the way to even greater achievements in the future. This is not difficult to predict; and it is certain that he will enjoy an ever-lasting audience, for his inspired moments are many. Few contemporary lithographers can approach him in vision, or in the poetic and dramatic quality contained in his prints. Each individual subject imposes a particularly searching test of the mastery of his handling of medium and ideas.

Wengenroth in his own particular way is an innovator, who developed a vocabulary sufficiently appropriate for recording his art on the lithographic stone. In his work one finds demonstrations of his esthetic creed — realistic, imaginative, and contemporary. Changes in art are inevitable. Each generation brings something new, and much of it is vital; but there is a tendency to pass over the work of artists whose effects have been tested by time and are less stylized than much that is seen today.

Wengenroth's exhibition demands close study. He is among those few lithographers on this side of the Atlantic who are able to hold their own beside the work of the masters of lithography in the past. His command both of his art and his technique is nowhere better demonstrated than in his compositions of birds, particularly the study of owls. Representative of this group is "The Patriarch," a print of unusual force. It probes deeply into the mysteries of lithography by subtle suggestions and color values which develop an extraordinary feeling for texture and third dimension. Others of this group equally ac-

complished are "Owls," "Three Owls," and "Five Owls." "Strange Companions," although reminiscent, is sensitive in its study of whites in the owl and the rich quality of the black in the crow.

Two subjects of particular interest are "Serenity" and "Meeting-House Costume," both church interiors. In these all-over patterns the most notable achievement is their decorative and silent quality and the beautiful relationship of delicate greys, supported by the black rails of the closed-in pews, which develops a pattern of fascinating area cutting.

A series of studies prominent in Wengenroth's work suggests the poetic and dramatic atmosphere of the old coastal towns of New England. These prints reveal the true mastery of his subjects, depicting old houses, rock-bound shores, sand dunes, landscapes, and trees. The masses of black, white, and gray are carefully organized and the execution is always direct and vigorous. They produce effects of mass, contour, and solidity; and the artist's technique never lacks purpose by reason of its inimitability. This is the method he chose to interpret his ideas in light and shade. In fact, these prints cannot be associated with any school either in choice of subject or method of expression. Wengenroth is a true American in his subject matter and approach.

To name a few, "Summer Shadows," "New England Green," and "Shadow of the Elm" display a sensitive play of light, sunshine, and shadow patterns, drawn with characteristic technique, that appear as tones of color. The rugged and dramatic coastline is admirably illustrated in "Deep Water," "Grey Coast," "After the Rain," and "Maine Coast," and its calmer aspects in "Along the Shore," "Ebb Tide," and "Moonlight." The wooded interiors are well represented by "Sunlight Forests" and "Edge of the Woods"; the dunes by "Sand Dunes" and "Sunlit Dunes"; the studies of trees by "Old Willows," "Quiet Grove," "Woodland," and "The Landmark." The "Hudson River Series" and other groups should all be mentioned, but lack of space does not permit it.

In the final analysis, Stow Wengenroth's lithographs and drawings are a demonstration of order and the simple laws of art. He is an individual whose direction will provide interest

and study for some time to come in the development of lithography. So personal is his later work that one cannot place his art in the milieu of other schools, and he is not concerned with the genres to which they belonged. His methods are wholly spontaneous, so that the observer, through the rhythmic juxtaposition of painting values, is made to realize the mystic qualities of his subjects. Accurate vision, good choice, and clear expression are elements ever present in good art. Wengenroth recognizes the force of nature, and he knows how to create a sense of the character of a particular place. His method, although simple in appearance, defies technical analysis.

The dry-brush drawings are studies for the same subjects in lithography. They demonstrate that Wengenroth is a craftsman as well as a draftsman. They represent the sensitivity of the artist, and his spiritual and technical qualities, as do his lithographs. These drawings give evidence of another development in Wengenroth's *oeuvre*, showing his mastery with the brush as well as the crayon. They are "The Patriarch," "The Old Willow," "Bucks County," "Ebb Tide," and "Red Winged Blackbirds."

Wengenroth's work as a whole reflects a sensitive appreciation of nature and a constant consciousness of her offerings. It possesses a spiritual and poetic quality that is given to few among our younger lithographers. Since an artist's work mirrors his character and personality, his accomplishments illustrate better than words the sincerity, beauty, and mystery of his creative force.

Wengenroth's part in the renaissance of lithography in this country is now established by the inclusion of his prints in important museums and private collections. He has received every major award in the American Print Societies, and we predict that his reputation will grow as time continues to add laurels to the career of one so talented.

Notes on Rare Books

A Great Spanish Cosmographer

THE Boston Public Library has acquired an important work on navigation: the first edition of the *Regimiento de Navegación y de la Hidrografía* by Andrés García de Céspedes, published by Juan de la Cuesta in Madrid in 1606. Bound in its original boards, the book has two title pages, the first beautifully engraved showing a galleon between the columns of Hercules surmounted by the arms of Spain. Of special importance is an engraved folded world map laid out in a series of twelve globe gores, and containing unusual delineations of the Western Hemisphere, as well as of New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. California is represented as a peninsula, and all the principal capes and ports in Central and South America are named in detail. The author obviously used a very early map. The northern coast of North America, Europe, and Asia is merely a wavy line, indicating that it was unknown to him. Apparently Céspedes was unaware of the existence of the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, all of which had appeared on earlier maps.

Andrés García de Céspedes was born in Seville about the middle of the sixteenth century and died in Madrid in 1611. He was one of the successors to Sebastian Cabot in the chair of cosmography at the pilot's school of the Casa de Contratación in Seville. While in the service of the Archduke Alberto, he was named chief cosmographer of the Indies to correct the models for the navigation charts. He constructed ingenious instruments for astronomy and mathematics; invented a new method for making sun dials; observed eclipses; and proposed to King Philip the creation of a board on astronomy at the Escorial. He was the author of numerous works on astronomy and navigation.

On June 13, 1596 he was appointed Royal Cosmographer. Three years later he presented at Court a revised model for navigation charts and various new navigation instruments. These were all examined by the learned members of the Council for Indies, who ordered that all new navigation charts be patterned after the one by Céspedes. Everything — astrolabe, cross staff, mariner's compass, charts, tables of celestial movements — was discussed in repeated conferences, subjected to a detailed examination, and com-

pared with charts and notes of earlier navigators. From all this came the *Regimiento de Navegación y de la Hidrografía*. In it Céspedes not only expounded the corrections they had made, but also explained the reasons for them. Adding the observations of all the earlier navigators and astronomers to his own, he made many changes in the Alphonsine Tables and the calculations of Regiomontanus, Peurbach, and Copernicus.

Céspedes censured the rules that Juan Bautista Labaña had given for observing the North Star, and offered a new method which was still being used by English, Dutch, and other navigators a century later. He notes Labaña's failure to supply information for determining the elevation of the pole and the errors in his tables of declination. On this problem he offers the doctrine of Pedro Núñez concerning the distances between places according to their distance from the Equinoctial. Céspedes put into play the theory of the curvature of the sail and all his vast knowledge of trigonometry. He examines a quadrant and an armillary instrument invented by Núñez, proposing others that seem more exact to him. He criticizes the inaccuracy, usually amounting to half a point, with which the navigators take the variation of the compass, thus causing the loss of many ships. He offers a method for correcting these errors, and suggests an instrument for observing the variation with greater accuracy.

The second part, on hydrography, deals more particularly with cartography, latitude and longitude, giving sailing directions between various points in the Old and New World, including Havana, Veracruz, Nombre de Dios, the Rio de la Plata, and the Straits of Magellan. It includes transcripts of documents relating to the line of demarcation separating Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the New World. Some of them tell how the Portuguese have perverted the maps by putting the Spice Islands within their territory.

Céspedes considered it impossible to determine longitude by any instrument. He preferred dead reckoning, the errors of which could never be as serious as those resulting from other methods. Although this proposition seems rather bold in an epoch full of contrivers who tried to impute great and mysterious secrets to the magnet, Céspedes defended dead reckoning on the occasion of the presentation of one of those extravagant projects. He shows the impossibility of obtaining longitude by astronomical observations when not even the movements of the moon were known; nor could tables about these movements be composed with any degree of accuracy. He points out the insignificance of the eclipses for this purpose,

because they occur so seldom, and also the uselessness of magnetic variation of the compass, because of its continuous and irregular alterations.

To determine longitude by a rigorously mathematical method, and yet obtain it according to dead reckoning, he composed a table which showed how many leagues there were between parallels or degrees. And further, by dividing the number of leagues traveled according to dead reckoning by the number of leagues between parallels, he found the number of degrees of longitude traveled. He applied this method in his revision of the navigation charts. Prior to Céspedes, navigators had measured the distance between parallels on the basis of the largest circle possible, around the equator, without considering the fact that the circles progressively diminish away from the equator.

Céspedes occupies an eminent position in the history of mathematics and astronomy. His constancy in observing celestial phenomena, his profound analysis of all existing works on navigation, and his attempts to resolve many important problems concerning hydraulics and artillery deserve permanent recognition. His books on navigation eclipsed earlier treatises, and for many years were standard manuals for mariners.

LOUIS UGALDE

The Art of Botanical Illustration

AN exhibition of rare illustrated books and manuscripts on botany and gardening has been placed on view in the Treasure Room of the Boston Public Library. The works range from early Latin and German herbals of the fifteenth century to the sumptuous flower books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with their magnificent hand-colored plates; they include examples from more than a dozen countries in all parts of the globe. Most of the material comes from the Codman Collection of Gardening and Landscape Architecture, and the rest from the other collections of the Library. Indeed, the Library is so rich in these splendid books that a second exhibition of similar scope could easily be arranged.

On display are examples of each of the three types of fifteenth-century printed herbal: the *Herbarius*, the *Gart der Gesundheit*, and the *Hortus Sanitatis*. The first of these — the original prototype — was a catalogue of plants and their medicinal uses in Latin. The Li-

brary's copy is of the second edition, printed at Passau in 1485, and illustrated with 150 woodcuts colored by a contemporary hand. The *Gart der Gesundheit*, though based on the *Herbarius*, was written in the vernacular; the copy shown, printed in 1488 at Augsburg, has nearly 500 cuts. The last type of herbal to appear, the *Hortus Sanitatis*, contained all available knowledge on animals and minerals as well as plants. The Library's edition was published at Strassburg in 1499. (All three volumes have been described in detail in the October 1936, November 1940, and February 1941 issues of *More Books*.)

While the woodcuts of these early printed herbals remained somewhat crude, though lively, the Flemish miniaturists were producing botanical illustrations which rival the most exquisite work of the eighteenth century. One of the highlights of the exhibit is a Book of Hours of the Ghent-Bruges school, done about 1500, with border decorations showing realistic flowers painted in glowing colors on a gold background. Particularly notable is the Calendar for each month, decorated with seasonal flowers and butterflies drawn naturalistically: daisies in April, roses and strawberries in June, cornflowers and poppies in August, and so on. They remind one of the Codex Grimani, the most famous example of this style. (The Library's manuscript has been described in the January 1951 issue of the *B. P. L. Quarterly*.)

One of the chief distinctions of the fifteenth-century printed herbals is that many of their woodcuts — in contrast to most illustrations of the period — are naturalistic. The artist evidently tried to give an accurate representation of the plants. Yet it was only during the middle years of the sixteenth century that the passion for accuracy became dominant. Leonhart Fuchs, the author of the famous *De Historia Stirpium* (History of Species), printed in Basle in 1542, wrote: "We have devoted the greatest diligence to secure that every plant should be depicted with its roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, seeds, and fruits." The Library has a copy of the German translation of Fuchs's work, issued in Basle in 1543.

So successful was the new style of illustration that countless botanical works of the next three centuries copied their plates from Fuchs, or from Otto Brunfels's *Herbarum Vivae Eicones* (Living Portraits of Plants), printed in Strassburg in 1530. For example, William Turner's *Herbal* (Cologne, 1658) and John Gerard's popular *Herball, or General Historie of Plants* (London, 1597) — both on display — included many illustrations borrowed from Fuchs and Brunfels. And those botanical books which did not copy the woodcuts directly imitated their style; their sharp, clear lines, and the

tendency to cover the whole area of the block with a wallpaper-like pattern of stems and leaves.

During the seventeenth century, the woodcut was replaced by the new and more complicated processes of etching and metal engraving. The result was the production of more expensive books, many of them designed for rich amateurs of gardening rather than for the scientist or general reader. Such a work is J. C. Volckamer's *Nurembergische Hesperides* (Nuremberg, 1708), a treatise on the citrus fruits of Europe in two volumes, illustrated with hundreds of full-page engravings of beribboned oranges, lemons, and limes against a background of views of the cities and gardens of Germany, Austria, and Italy.

During the middle and later years of the eighteenth century some of the greatest works in the history of plant illustration were produced. Georg Ehret, the foremost botanical artist of the earlier period, began his career as a gardener's apprentice in Germany, but later emigrated to England. His drawings for books like the *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam, 1737), with text by the great Linnaeus, were admired by artists and scientists alike. In Vienna, Nikolas von Jacquin, head of Maria Theresa's gardens at Schonbrunn, produced the handsome *Stirpium Americanum* (1763), containing nearly two hundred plates of rare plants drawn from life in the New World. In Paris, Pierre-Joseph Redouté, the most popular flower painter in the history of the art, was making his beautiful watercolor drawings of both common and uncommon plants. The Library is fortunate in having a copy of his much-coveted *Le Botanique de J. J. Rousseau* (Paris, 1805), illustrated with colored stipple engravings glorifying the best-known flowers of garden and field. John Ruskin tried to buy a copy of this book, and wrote to a number of dealers on the Continent, but he was unable to find one.

In England, botanical illustration was then at the beginning of its best period. In 1777 William Curtis published in London the first part of his *Flora Londinensis*, a series of figures and descriptions of the plants which grew wild within ten miles of the metropolis. But the five volumes of this work, now a collector's prize, sold poorly; the current taste was for books on exotic hothouse flowers. Curtis was forced to give in to the popular demand. In 1787 he founded the *Botanical Magazine*, which aimed to illustrate and describe "the most Ornamental Foreign Plants" — and it was an immediate financial success.

The middle of the nineteenth century saw the publication of scores of botanical works and the development of many new techniques of reproduction, notably the lithograph, which changed the

character of illustration as profoundly as engraving had done two hundred years earlier. Lithography was quick and cheap, making possible the production of large editions at a low price. Only a few of the nineteenth-century works on display can be mentioned. Two English folio volumes with elegantly-colored plates are Walter Fitch's *Monograph of the Genus Lilium* (London, 1877-80) and the *Icones Filicum* (Pictures of Ferns) of W. J. Hooker and R. K. Greville (London, 1829-31). Even more impressive are two French folios on the flowers and fruits of Java, and the *Traité des Arbres Fruitiers* of Duhamel du Monceau (Paris, 1808-35) with its delicate plates of apples, grapes, and pears. Also on exhibit are sample volumes from some of the many English and French botanical magazines, including *Paxton's Magazine*, the *Flore des Serres* (Greenhouse Flora), and the *Journal des Roses*.

While the English and French artists specialized in the creation of beautiful and decorative work, their German contemporaries concentrated on producing drawings of accuracy and detail. Occasionally their books were attractive as well, as in the case of *Sertum Hannoveranum seu Plantae Rariores* (Rare Plants of Hanover), printed in Goettingen in 1785; and many of the smaller volumes, too, contain drawings of delicacy and charm. Particularly notable among the German works is *Anleitung zum Richtigen und Geschmackvollen Blumenzeichnen*, a rare manual of flower painting by Friedrich Campe, published in Nuremberg in 1802 — thus antedating most such books by three decades. Each of the two volumes contains double plates, with outline drawings and finished colored paintings on opposite pages. (See *More Books*, September, 1942.)

A separate case is devoted to the plants of America. André Michaux's *North American Sylva*, with engravings after paintings by Redouté and Bessa, originally appeared in Paris in 1819; it was continued in three additional volumes by Thomas Nuttall (Philadelphia, 1849). *A Flora of North America* (Philadelphia, 1823), by William Barton, was illustrated by his wife. An interesting work is C. M. Hovey's *The Fruits of America*, printed in Boston in 1852. Hovey was a Massachusetts botanist who developed new varieties of apples and strawberries; many of them are illustrated in this volume. Also on exhibit are a number of examples of the floral gift book, so popular in the 1840's and 1850's, in which colored lithographs or engravings of bouquets alternate with sentimental stories and verse.

The exhibition will remain on view throughout January 1953.

ALISON BISHOP

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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APRIL 1953

Letters by the Duke of Marlborough

By RUTH EMERY

A GROUP of Somerset papers recently acquired by the Boston Public Library is an item of significance to the student of English history.¹ Drawn from the family archives of one of the noble houses of England, the papers include autographed letters addressed to Charles Seymour, sixth Duke of Somerset, by various persons between the years 1703-1709, and unsigned news-letters, in French, written probably by agents at the Hague and in Paris between 1704-1711.² Seymour was a figure in party politics during four reigns and a minister in Queen Anne's government during the years covered by these documents; consequently most of the materials which comprise the set concern matters of public import.

It is, of course, the personal correspondence that is of greatest general interest. The thirty-four letters from some of the most important statesmen and military leaders of the time include communications from the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord High Treasurer Godolphin, two members of the Whig Junto, Montagu and Somers, foreign envoys of the Queen, Alexander and James Stanhope, and a number of lesser figures.

Probably the five letters from the Duke of Marlborough have the greatest appeal as well as being of greatest historical consequence. They were sent from the Continent during the campaigns of 1703-1704, those years in the wars against Louis

XIV when the English General was hampered in his plans for an offensive strategy by the extreme caution of Dutch allies and the factious behavior of the Ministry at home.³ His task in those years was not just to defeat the French — that he could have done on several occasions in the early part of the war had he had full coöperation⁴ — but to persuade his own side to give him the authority and supplies that he needed to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion.

Marlborough, an able politician himself, left his troops in winter quarters at the close of each campaign and hastened back to England to promote as best he could the cause against France. His personal influence and that of his Duchess Sarah with the Queen in the first years of her reign was extraordinary; upon occasion Anne stood with him against a majority in the Ministry and Parliament.⁵ Among the Ministers he had a few loyal supporters. Godolphin, whose office as First Lord of the Treasury had been secured through Marlborough's request, could be counted upon;⁶ bound to the Duke by both party and family ties,⁷ he did everything in his power to maintain the steady flow of money to the troops and allies abroad, so important a factor in the morale of the army.

The Duke of Somerset was another member of the Privy Council whose steadfastness in the early campaigns of the war was invaluable. In politics his position was unique. Without responsible office or any of the personal characteristics that make for popular leadership, he wielded, nevertheless, considerable influence with the Whig party.⁸ As ranking Protestant peer in the House of Lords, he commanded a following among the moderates of his own party; a great landowner, in the Commons he managed a sizable block of votes by openly manipulating the elections in the areas of his own estates.⁹ When supplies for the war had to be wrung from a divided and economy-minded Parliament, his support was indispensable.

Somerset's relationship with the Queen was also of a special nature. His noble standing and the place of his first wife, Elizabeth Percy, in Anne's household brought them together when they were young and Anne was still a princess. In the quarrels between Anne and William and Mary, the Duke stood by the Princess at the cost of royal disfavor, offering the hospitality

of his mansion, Syon House, when she was turned out of her London residence.¹⁰ Anne never forgot his loyalty. When she became Queen, she made him Master of the Horse, and she was always ready to receive him.

In politics, too, though her own views were Tory, Anne trusted Somerset. He remained outside the Junto, the clique of the most radical Whig leaders, and opposed the members when they would have coerced the Queen or ignored her opinion.¹¹ Whenever he differed with her on political issues, she never doubted his respect for her office and her person.¹²

Marlborough himself was a moderate Tory.¹³ During the war he preferred to identify himself with neither party, seeking to win such support as he could for the fight against France from both. During his absences on the Continent, however, he had to rely on Godolphin and especially Somerset to work for the cause of the Grand Alliance within the framework of party politics at home.

The task was not easy. When Louis XIV, in the autumn of 1700, seized the "Barrier Fortresses" in the Spanish Netherlands in violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, the country as a whole was opposed to positive and immediate action. The late wars against France had been unpopular, many in both parties believing that King William pursued them in the interests of his native Holland rather than those of England. Especially after the death of Queen Mary in 1693, the Dutch ruler, with his thick accent and brusque manners, had been regarded as a "foreigner" by Whigs and Tories alike and the continental campaigns as *his* affairs.

The army had been disbanded with the consent of both parties according to the good English principle that a standing army in peacetime was contrary to the best interests of the people. In vain William had protested that Louis could not be trusted, and that the matter of the Spanish Succession would be reopened by the imminent death of the childless ruler of Spain, Charles II. When time proved him right, and the French king, contrary to his previous agreement, claimed the Spanish throne and the whole Spanish Empire for his grandson Philip of Anjou, England was not prepared to fight.

The Whig merchant interests discovered first the folly of

allowing two thrones and two large empires to be dominated by the same dynasty. Trade began to suffer from the restrictive policies of the Bourbon rulers, who not only barred English ships from their colonies but aggressively enforced the regulations with their navies and licensed privateers. The evasion of Spanish mercantile controls had been managed by English merchants with minor inconveniences as long as the government was in the hands of a weak and incompetent ruler; and there had been the assumption that the same state of affairs would continue. However, when ships began to limp home after savage encounters with the new patrols of the sea, bearing reports of cargoes and men lost, of English boats run into foreign harbors and confiscated, William's claim that in curbing French power he acted in the interest of England as well as Holland commanded increasing respect. The Whigs became a war party and voted military preparations during the year 1701.

William's death in the spring of 1702, before hostilities began, left the conduct of the war to Marlborough, already his plenipotentiary in the diplomacy of arranging the Grand Alliance and commander of the English forces. The question of who should take William's place as head of the joint command of the allied armies was finally resolved in Marlborough's favor, although the provision that major strategy should have the approval of the Dutch generals and Assembly gave him far from a free hand.

In May, 1702 England formally declared war against France and Spain. A difference of opinion as to the degree of the country's commitment divided the political parties at the last stormy session of Parliament, some of the Tory spokesmen holding that the English army should act merely as an auxiliary to the allied forces against Louis and the outstanding Whigs declaring for vigorous leadership. In the Council, Somerset, along with Devonshire and Pembroke, spoke in strong defense of the latter position and, to Marlborough's infinite relief, their view prevailed.¹⁴

As he set out for the Continent to begin the campaign, Marlborough knew, however, that the balance of the support in his favor was slight. He hoped for energetic action and early victories to increase the sentiment for the war. He was to be dis-

appointed, for the conditions of the command worked against him. Endless councils with the joint-staff resulted invariably in decisions for cautious operations around the borders of the Netherlands and for slow siege tactics rather than open battles. When action was undertaken, lack of coöperation and downright disobedience on the part of the Dutch officers often forfeited the fruits of victory.¹⁵

Despite obstacles, however, some solid gains, together with the romantic episode of his near capture by the enemy, increased the popularity of the war and its leader toward the end of the campaign of 1702. The seizure of the Spanish treasure fleet at Vigo Bay restored the prestige of the Navy and eased the minds of the taxpayers. Rochester, the bitterest of the High Tory opposition, was forced to resign, and the rest of the Court faction against Marlborough took its cue from the action of the Queen. She raised his title from Earl to Duke and settled £5,000 a year on him for her lifetime.

THE first letter from Marlborough to the Duke of Somerset in the Library collection was written during the summer of 1703. February of that year had brought the Commander the personal tragedy of his seventeen-year-old son's death by small-pox at Cambridge. Depressed and ill,¹⁶ he resumed the continental command in March to find the enemy preparing to strike on two fronts: Villeroy's army was ranged along the Dutch frontier, while in the Empire Villars and Tallard were moving to meet the Elector of Bavaria's troops with the obvious purpose of marching on Vienna.¹⁷ Portugal had joined the allies in return for the promise that English and Dutch troops would be sent to fight in the Peninsula — a pledge that was sure to meet with opposition from the Dutch Generals.¹⁸

What Marlborough hoped for was quick, decisive action in Flanders and Brabant which would free some of the troops to go to the aid of the Empire; for he knew that without help the Hapsburgs could not hold out for long. But the plan did not materialize, largely because the allies failed to have the supplies and troops ready as instructed when the Commander arrived at the Hague in March. Operations against Bonn were

started at last in May, although some of the artillery had not yet arrived, and Cohorn, the Dutch siege-expert, was of the opinion that fighting should be postponed until autumn.¹⁹ Bonn capitulated on May 15. Another month had been wasted in an effort to persuade the joint command to accept Marlborough's strategy against Antwerp, and then "the great design," as the Duke called it, failed because some of the leaders did not carry out his orders.²⁰

With remarkable resiliency Marlborough turned to the next step upon which all were agreed, the siege of Huy. His letter to the Duke of Somerset, written from Van Notre Dame, the allied encampment covering movements against the town, on August 16th (O.S.),²¹ reported the surrender of Huy and other matters:

My Lord

I have deferred answering the honour of Your Graces letter of the 3d instant, til I cou'd give you at the same time an account of the Success of our Siege (of Huy) which you will now see is happily end'd, and the Garrison Prisoners at War, having been oblig'd to accept the terms offer'd them in the enclos'd paper.

The terms concerned the exchange of the prisoners taken at Huy for those taken by the French in May at Tongres. The latter were remnants of two battalions, one Dutch and the other Scots of the Queen's Regiment, that had heroically fought to cover Marlborough's action at Bonn. These men had shown themselves such able soldiers that the Commander was eager to secure their release.²²

In view of this wee held a great Council of War on Friday last to deliberate what might be most proper, to be undertaken next, my Self with Several of the General Officers were for attacking the Lyne, and Monsr. Overkerk, with the others for Besieging Limbourg. Wee have all Sign'd our different reasons and sent them to the Hague from whence wee must expect an answer before wee Can procede.

The French were constructing a ninety-mile line of fortifications from Antwerp to Namur, consisting of earth-works joined to impassable rivers. Marlborough wanted to attack near the Mehaigne, where the barrier was incomplete. The battle could have been fought on a six-mile front upon terrain



The Duke of Marlborough — Engraving by H. T. Ryall

that would have permitted the whole army to be employed. On this occasion the English, German, and Danish Generals of the Command and even the Dutch civilian Field Deputies cast their votes for the attack; the Dutch Generals alone dissented. Their preference was for the siege of Limburg in accordance with their usual policy of building a fortress barrier around Holland. The States General, rendered even more conservative by the repulse at Antwerp, voted for the siege.²³

I doe not trouble Your Grace with the Copies of these reasons because you will see them in Mr. Secretary Hedges hands. I accompanied mine with a letter to the States wherein I am more particular, but as I would have this less publick, and desire nothing may be a secret with Your Grace that Concerns mee, I pray leave to refer You for a sight of this letter to my Lord Treasurer.

The two Secretaries of State, the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges, belonged to the High Tory court faction that were half-hearted about the war and hostile to Marlborough. Nottingham was moved in part by jealousy. He resented the way in which the triumvirate of Marlborough, Godolphin, and the Queen made decisions without consulting the rest of the Cabinet.²⁴ An awkwardness often arose between the Secretary of State and the Commander-in-chief because of overlapping functions of their offices. As head of the Southern Department, Nottingham dealt with Southern Europe and the colonies and could issue orders to the Admiralty and the War Office, matters that plainly cut across the responsibilities of the Duke's position. Upon the occasion of the Portuguese Alliance, Nottingham sent orders to Marlborough to withdraw two regiments from his troops on the Dutch frontier for service in Portugal; and the army chief obeyed, in the interest of harmony with the home office, although the move was against his own best military judgment.²⁵ Hedges was Nottingham's placeman.²⁶ Official reports had, of course, to be sent to the Secretaries. But to the Lord Treasurer Godolphin Marlborough wrote more personally. It is a mark of his confidence in Somerset that he referred him to his correspondence with Godolphin.

Whatever resolutions wee may receive from the Hague in this matter, I dare say the States will advise what they think most conducive to the publick Service, and therefore I shall always endeav-

our to avoyde giving any occasion of misunderstanding between us and the Dutch, as well knowing nothing Can tend more to the advantage of our Commone Enemy.

Marlborough's great anxiety at this time was that England might break with Holland. He knew that Louis XIV had hopes of making a separate peace with the Dutch States; that in the spring of 1702 a French emissary Barre had been at the Hague to offer them terms for withdrawal from the Grand Alliance; and he was resolved, despite the vexations of the joint-command, to prevent such a development. The High Tory leaders, many of them anti-Dutch from William's reign, favored a rupture with the States; and, as the campaign of 1703 moved toward the end of the fighting season with little decisive action to the credit of the Allies, they were openly working for it. The Duke of Somerset had been useful in rallying support for the Anglo-Dutch alliance before, and it is evident that Marlborough was appealing to him in this letter to do what he could in the political controversies about the future conduct of the war and to direct opinion along these lines:

As to what you are pleas'd to mention in relation to Sr. Ri: Temple, I know Your Zeal to be such for the Publick, that if it shall be thought advisable to replace the Regiments taken from hence by others from England or Ireland, Your Grace will readily give your assistance in itt, and I shall be very glad to doe my part not onely in obliging Sr. Ri: Temple but upon all other occasions to assure Your Grace of my being with the greatest truth, and Sincerity,

My Lord,
Your Graces most obedient humble Servant
Marlborough

Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham (1669-1749) was one of a group of distinguished volunteers who, at Venloo in the campaign of 1702, had led the assault against Fort St. Michael.²⁷ He was later to be honored for outstanding service at Lille.²⁸ Strongly Whig in his views and in favor of the Anglo-Dutch Alliance, he naturally disapproved of Nottingham's withdrawal of troops for Portugal. He was stationed in Ireland at this time and chafed under inactivity. Evidently he had solicited Somerset to propose replacements from home and to indicate his eagerness to serve. A dispatch to the Duke of Ormonde in

January, 1704, shows that Marlborough ordered four regiments on foot, including Sir Richard Temple's, to be transported to Holland.²⁹

THE second Marlborough letter to Somerset in the Library Collection is dated August 30 (O.S.), 1703. Sent from St. Tron (d), en route to begin the siege of Limburg, the communication gives little indication of the terrible disappointment that the Duke suffered because of the final decision against his plan of attack on the line. He wrote simply:

My Lord

I doubt not but Your Grace has been in expectation of some good news from the Enemys Lyne, and while I had the least hopes of prevailling for the attack of them I deferr'd troubling You with any thing of lesser moment, Your Grace has seen the reasons which induced mee to believe the attempt both necessary and feasible, but the Generals who were of another opinion persisting in itt to the last, the oportunity is lost, and there being now little appearance of further action on this Side, I am going with a detachment to besiege Limbourg, which I hope will soon be over, that this Campagne is not like to Continue soe late as the last, which will give mee the Satisfaction of Seeing You this Yeare soe much the earlier; but where ever I am I shall always be glad to receive Your Commands, being with great truth, and Sincerity

My Lord [etc.]

To Godolphin the General revealed his true state of mind more frankly in a letter written about the same time: "I am going to the siege of Limbourg, so that I believe I shall be a fortnight from this army, in which time I hope to recover my health; for the unreasonable opposition I have met with has so heated my blood, that I am almost mad with the headache."³⁰

Desperate for action after his recent frustrations, Marlborough threw himself into the operations at Limburg. He left Overkirk in command of the covering army and directed the details of the siege personally, planting the batteries, spending long days in the saddle and in the company of the common soldiers, "surrounded by only such men as sought to do his bidding."³¹

Reasons of diplomacy may also have entered into Marlbor-

ough's decision to conduct the siege himself. Limburg, as a part of the Spanish Netherlands, belonged to the Spanish throne, which the Emperor was fighting to secure for his son, the Archduke Charles. The Dutch, however, hoped to add the well-fortified city to the barrier fortresses which they were trying to arrange like a dyke between the States and the rest of Europe. They argued that the Empire had defaulted on its supply of troops, and that it was mostly Dutchmen who stormed the walls and drove the French out.

Marlborough stood resolutely for the legal claim of the Empire, for he saw that to do otherwise was to wreck the Grand Alliance. In the days that followed the surrender of Limburg (September 27, 1703), he transferred the municipal administration from the unwilling Dutch agent who had appropriated the office to the Imperial Ambassador. He re-stated his position in the presence of representatives from both countries a few weeks later in a meeting with the Archduke Charles. "I have just had the honor of putting Your Majesty in possession of Limburg," he said, adding when the Archduke presented him with his sword: "It acquires additional value in my eyes because Your Majesty has condescended to wear it; for it will always remind me of your just right to the Spanish crown, and my obligation to hazard my life and all that is dear to me, in rendering you the greatest prince of Christendom."³²

The surrender of Limburg is reported in the third Marlborough letter in the Somerset papers, sent from Vervier, September 20th (O.S.), 1703. More personal matters also are included:

My Lord

I must earnestly intreat Your Graces's pardon that I cou'd not, being most of the day on horseback, write to You on thursday, to give You an account of the Surrendre of Limbourg, whereof You will before receipt of this, have seen the Conditions from Mr. Secretary. I have since receiv'd the honour of Your Graces letter of the 9th instant, and had one at the same time from my Lady Marl: full of expressions of gratetude for the kind reception she met with from my Lady Dutchesse and Yourself.

The appreciation expressed by the Duke on this occasion was more than a phrase of formal politeness. During the harass-

sing months of the 1703 campaign, he had had the added anxiety of news from home that his beloved Sarah was ill. At the time of the siege of Huy he was writing to her: "I am so uneasy since I received yours of the 23rd last month, that I shall have no rest till I hear again from you, for your health is much dearer to me than my own. It is impossible for me to express what I feel, having seen by my Lord Treasurer of the same post, that he thought you very far from being well. For God's sake let me know exactly how you are . . ." ³³ To Godolphin he wrote asking his opinion of the Duchess' health and pressing him to persuade her to go with the Queen to the health resort at Bath or to take special treatment. He suspected what seems to have been the case, that she continued to grieve over her son's death, particularly since she had learned that she could have no more children,³⁴ and that she shunned society which was so much a part of her normal life. Somerset's letter confirming Sarah's report that she was again enjoying her friends at Court must have been more than ordinarily welcome, as was the account of any kindness shown her.

The rest of the letter is on the subject of common concern to the two men, the political situation at home:

Your Grace has Certainly a very true sence of our misfortunes on this Side, but it is soe tender a point, that I am at a losse how to mention itt, for as You well observe, wee are all equally Concern'd to maintain a strick union between the two Nations. I am going to the other Army and intend to make but a short stay before I seet forward for the Hague in my waye home, where I hope by the middle of the next month to have the honour to embrace Your Grace, and to assure you in person that none can be with greater Sincerity, and respect, then I am

My Lord [etc.]

The Whigs, until now the pro-Dutch supporters of the war, were frankly dissatisfied with the limited results of the 1703 campaign, and Somerset evidently felt bound to report their temper to the Commander. They blamed Marlborough for the timid policies of the joint-staff; they joined the Tories in demanding another theater of combat, and talked of replacing the Duke with a more aggressive strategist. Somerset agreed with Marlborough about the value of the Anglo-Dutch alliance, and held his party to that line as long as he could. With the

continued reverses, however, it was difficult. Members of the Whig Junto, out of favor since the accession of Anne, were trying to regain leadership of the party, and their program — a Whig Ministry and a new Commander for the war — was becoming increasingly popular.³⁵ Marlborough's letter indicates that he was aware of the opposition that was building up against him.

The siege of Limburg was the last major engagement of the 1703 campaign. Leaving his army in winter quarters, the General hurried back to England in November to the ugly political situation that Somerset had reported. He had already determined not to accept the command another year on the same terms as the last. In September he had advised the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Antoon Heinsius, of his decision. "If I might have millions given mee to serve another yeare and be oblig'd to doe nothing but by the unanimous consent of the Generals, I would much sooner dye . . . I hope they will approve the one expedient I can think of, which is my being att the head of the troupes payde by England, and they joyne any such of theirs to mee as they shall Judge for the good of the service."³⁶ He wrote wearily to friends in the administration that he would like to resign all offices and retire to his country place.³⁷

The rout of Marlborough's enemies and his return to the Continent in the spring with increased authority were due to the exertions of others rather than to any spirited defense of his policies by himself. He took no very active part in the controversies of the parties in Parliament, many of them directed against the foreign alliance and his conduct. When the Tories tried to remove many Whig supporters of the war from office by the Occasional Conformity Bill, he voted with his party and in deference to the Queen's wishes, although all knew that he regarded the divisive measure as calamitous to the war effort. When the Junto proposed to make the Elector of Hanover head of the Allied Armies in his place, Marlborough said that he would gladly serve under him.

The Dutch, however, would not accept the Hanover Prince; despite their differences with the Duke, they held him in high regard. And Queen Anne, with that combination of loyalty and stubbornness that often characterized her motives, would

have no one else. The Tory leaders who opposed him she dismissed. But she would not give their places to the Whigs of the Junto; she filled the Ministry instead with moderate manageable Tories.

The prospects of the Allied Armies for success against entrenched Bourbon forces in the spring of 1704 were not promising. The military situation had worsened during the winter. The fall of Vienna, which had been threatened the year before, had been postponed by disagreement between the French and Bavarian leaders, by unexpected resistance in the Tyrol, and by the defection of the Duke of Savoy Piedmont, who had decided to change sides during the autumn of 1703. According to all signs, however, they were ready to strike when hostilities were renewed, and a revolt of the Hungarians within the Empire lessened the forces of resistance to them. Max Emanuel, the Elector of Bavaria, had been promised the Hapsburg's throne for joining Louis XIV, and it looked as though he would not have long to wait. Writing home from a visit to the Hague in February 1704, Marlborough told Sarah that only a "lucky accident" could save them.³⁸

When Marlborough returned to the Continent in April 1704, one thing was clear even to the Dutch States General: the war could no longer be confined to defensive operations around the borders of the Low Countries. The Duke proposed and at last obtained permission to carry the troops as far as the Moselle River. He had secured, too, new conditions for his own relations with the Joint-Command: he was to have an independent army made up of the English and all continental regiments in the pay of England. He would not be paralyzed for another year by the timidity of the Dutch staff.

THE fourth letter in the Somerset papers, written in the 1704 campaign, concerns that most daring episode of military history when Marlborough, having informed the States General that he was advancing to the Moselle, "stole the army and ran away with it to the Danube."³⁹ The date of the conception of the plan and the number of people who were a party to the secret are matters of dispute among historians.⁴⁰ There is no

doubt that the Emperor, watching with terror the massing of enemy troops, appealed repeatedly to Marlborough for aid. The imperial envoy Wratislaw frequently communicated messages from his master and from the gifted military commander Eugene of Savoy, head of the War Council in Vienna, during the winter of 1703-1704 urging him to draw off the enemy by interception or attack from the rear.

Tremendous risks would be involved in the thrust to the Danube. The long march up the Rhine and across the German States was a feat in itself; the problem of supplying and financing such an enterprise was staggering. Some of the German States that professed to be friendly could not be trusted, and a reversal of alliances by any of them after the army was well on its way could have been disastrous. Then, too, there was the Dutch frontier. Enough troops had to be left behind to safeguard the Netherlands and to prevent any considerable number of French detachments from following Marlborough's army. But some troops in Dutch pay were needed for the Danube engagement, and, according to the terms of the command, consent of the States General was required for the movement of these regiments. Marlborough knew well the chances of such a proposal. He had obtained approval of the Moselle plan, which employed the soldiers nearer home, only with the greatest difficulty, and he resolved that, if the march to the Danube were undertaken, it must be done without the knowledge of the Dutch Assembly.⁴¹

So he entered into negotiations with the Emperor and Eugene for the "rape of the Allied Army" in secret. For a number of reasons, very few people in England were parties to the plan. The success of the strategy depended largely upon surprising the enemy; if the Bavarians got wind of the scheme and had time to concentrate their troops, the advantage would be on their side. The Commander's political enemies had to be deceived for, had they been forewarned of his proposed unorthodox procedure, they would have raised again hue and cry for his dismissal. During the initial stages the Queen and Godolphin seem to have been the only ones who, in the behind-doors conferences with Wratislaw, assented to the bold design; and the Queen issued orders in Council in early April authorizing

the Commander "to send speedy succour to His Imperial Majesty and the Empire."⁴² The royal instruction would save the Duke from impeachment by Parliament — if anything could — in case the expedition failed.

The fourth Marlborough letter now in the Boston Public Library was written May 3 (O.S.) from the Dutch fortress Maestricht, where troops and supplies were being assembled ostensibly for the Moselle operations. The Commander had been there since the 10th, inspecting the regiments and dispatching instructions to the officers of the allied armies that were to join him en route. The Danube plans were still a carefully guarded secret. Official reports to Secretary Hedges mentioned only immediate destinations in the Moselle area during the first three weeks of the march;⁴³ he did not want the High Tory opposition to know until he crossed the Rhine. He seems to have decided, however, to confide his purpose to a few intimate associates in England, to St. John at the War Office,⁴⁴ whom at this time he trusted, and to Somerset:

My Lord

I did not write Your Grace att my leaving the Hague, being in some hopes that I might have had some thing worth the writing from this army where I have been since Saturday last and shall leave itt upon Friday, to Joyne the troupes that are marching to the Moselle; but I will not Conceal from You my reall intentions which are to goe much hier into Germany, even to the Danube, but I must beg Your Grace that this may be a Secret til I have acquainted the States with my designe which I doe not intend to doe till I have passed the Rhyne att Coblenze. For had I proposed it at the Hague they would never have Consented that I shou'd have Carryd the troupes soe far. I shou'd not be thus rash in taking al this upon my self, were I not very Confident that if I did not make this march the Empire must be ruined, which wou'd at least prove very fatal to England. If I succeed this expedition will be glorious to the Queen and England, if unlucky I must indure the mallice of my Enemys, but shal always have the inward satisfaction of knowing that I have ventured my self for the good of the Comon Cause.

The troupes which I shall have with mee will be about 40,000 men besides 7,000 of the Elector Pallatins, payd by England and Holland, and 4,000 of the Duke of Wertenbergs; soe that there is left for this army and the Garisons 103 battalions, and 114 Squadrons.

I am with much truth and respect

My Lord [etc.]

It is somewhat surprising that Marlborough, pressed with a thousand duties during the six days of preparation at Maestricht, should write to Somerset, and particularly that he should reveal to him this most secret information. Neither the personal relationship of the two men nor Somerset's office in the Ministry called for such confidence. Although as members of the Court nobility they often shared each other's hospitality, there seems to have been no emotional warmth on either side. Marlborough's comments about the great peer in his letters to Sarah and Godolphin show reservations in his regard for him⁴⁵ and in later years they became estranged because the General refused to recommend the Master of Horse for a more responsible office, for which he thought him incompetent.⁴⁶

The real bond between Marlborough and Somerset at the time of the letter from Maestricht was, of course, political. They had stood together from the first on the issue of the war against France, and both regarded party differences as secondary to the national emergency. In the recent Parliament, the Marlborough-Godolphin bloc, advocates of this policy, lacked substantial support; and the leaders knew that clever manipulation of all the methods of "influence" would be required to pack the House in their favor in the next elections.⁴⁷ Somerset, with his "mob" would be a key figure at the spring balloting.⁴⁸ Under these circumstances, Marlborough undoubtedly wished to make sure that his important ally, always sensitive to personal slight, did not feel excluded from the inner circle. It may also have occurred to him that, if the Danube strategy failed and the Allied Army were lost, he would need such support as he could muster in both parties for the defense of his life.⁴⁹

The victory of Blenheim so completely vindicated Marlborough's decision to march into Germany that, while his enemies continued to carp, the country as a whole was with him. He had saved the Empire and the Grand Alliance.

THE last letter from Marlborough in the Somerset papers was written from Treves on October 29th (O.S.), 1704. The campaign for the year was nearly over, the armies being then engaged in what the General meant to be the last operations

before going into winter quarters, the sieges of Landau and Traerbach.

My Lord

I have forborn writting to Your Grace for some time, in hopes to have sent you some good news from Landau, but that siege has gone very slowly that I have had no heart to write; You will have known by my letters to Mr. Secretary, that I had undertaken this expedition with half the troupes I shou'd have had for itt, it being absolutely necessary for the Covering of the Siege, for me to leave with Prince Eugene the English, all the Hanovers, and half the Hessians, but there was a necessity for me to undertake this expedition during the Siege, for shou'd the rains have fallen it wou'd have been impossible to have march'd with Canon through this country which I have now passed, and I think the taking of these winter-quarters is as necessary for the good of the Comon Cause, as anything that has been done this Campagne, I hope in four or five days to setle every thing here, that I may go to Trarback, to see the troupes that are come from Flandres, and to give the necessary orders for their subsistance, for I am afraid that Siege cant be begone till I send them some Canon from Landau which I hope I may do as soon as I can gett thether, for tho that siege has not made that hast which was to be wish'd, yet they have had more Canon then they did use, so that I have reason to hope thay will allow me to send ten of the dutch Canon to Trarback. If You wou'd have any thing from the Hague, pray let me have Your Comands, and pray beleive that You can not have a more faithful servant, then is

My Lord [etc.]

The striking success of the closing days of the 1704 campaign justified Marlborough's risk-taking maneuvers. The French, assuming that he would not begin action elsewhere until Landau had surrendered, were caught off-guard. In the dash for Treves the Allied Army won and the enemy retired in confusion across the Moselle, throwing munitions and supplies into the river as they went. Five days later Dutch reinforcements arrived. Marlborough wrote in relief to Godolphin: "I reckon this Campaign is well over, since the winter-quarters are settled on the Moselle, which I think will give France as much uneasiness as any thing that has been done this summer."⁵⁰

WHEN materials like those in the Somerset papers are

brought to public attention, the question arises: do they merely corroborate what is already known about the persons and events they mention or do they offer something new? Most of the factual matter in these five Marlborough letters falls in the first category. Their importance as a historical source lies in their revelation of the high degree of intimacy that existed between the military man and the political magnate in the years 1703-1704, and the concern of the former, which is apparent in every line, to hold the other's allegiance to the war effort.

The story of the later break in the friendship, when Somerset joined Harley and the Court circle working against Marlborough, has often been told; but their close relationship in those crucial years when the major parties were segmented into small, contending coteries fatally divided on the subject of the war, has escaped notice. Political analysts have described the crisis in the early reign of Queen Anne, when what has been called "the Churchill faction" desperately sought support in Parliament and among the Ministers for continuation of the campaign along the lines which they believed alone could be successful.⁵¹ There has been no account, however, of the behind-the-scenes consultations of the great Commander and the borough-mongering Lord. From these letters it is evident that Somerset kept Marlborough informed of the vagaries of party and public opinion in England while he was on the Continent. It is equally clear from the substance of Marlborough's replies that he hoped to maintain his correspondent's approval and support. Drawn together by their common conviction of the necessity for the war and Anglo-Dutch accord, they contrived during those years to place and to keep in office those who would work for their cause.

This record of the relationship between the two men in the Library's collection illumines the more-than-usual activity of Somerset in the triennial elections of 1705. It helps to explain his open vote-buying on that occasion which was so excessive, even in a time when bribery was a common electoral practice, as to bring a protest from the presiding sheriff and a threat of violence from the mob.⁵² It throws light, too, on his later stand in Cabinet Council against even the Queen when Marlborough, now out of royal favor, would have been deprived of his au-

thority by Harley and his following, had he not defended the absent member and broken up the meeting.⁵³ The Marlborough letters reveal, in short, the inner workings of a political alliance that heretofore has not been fully appreciated.

Notes

1. Listed in *Indiana University Studies*, "Bibliography of British History, 1700-1715," W. T. Morgan, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1934-42), 26, 325.
2. The volume contains 124 pieces, numbered 1-100 and 102-125. Number 101 is missing. Items 1-34 are autographed letters; items 35-125 are news reports.
3. For a detailed account of the situation in England in 1702-1704, see: G. Burnet, *History of his own Time* (Oxford, 1833), V; W. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1847), I; W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne* (New Haven, 1920); G. M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne* (London, 1930), I.
4. Trevelyan, I, 240.
5. W. S. Churchill, *Marlborough, his Life and Times* (New York, 1935), III, 267-268; Trevelyan, I, 335.
6. Burnet, V. 8.
7. Godolphin's only son, Francis, had married Marlborough's eldest daughter, Henrietta.
8. Morgan, 55.
9. A. A. Locke, *The Seymour Family* (Boston, 1914), 159-161; Morgan, 122.
10. Mrs. Arthur Colville, *Duchess Sarah* (London, 1904), 93; Coxe, I, 35.
11. Trevelyan, I, 200.
12. "Queen to Sarah," *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London, 1838), I, 256.
13. Keith Feiling believes that Marlborough's position at this time was so opposed to the Tory program that he should not be regarded as a Tory at all. K. G. Feiling, *History of the Tory Party* (Oxford, 1924), 282-83, 366-67. He is generally regarded as a Tory who broke with his party over the issue of the war. (Trevelyan, I, 183.)
14. T. Lediard, *Life of John, Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1736), I, 149.
15. Coxe, I, 94, 97.
16. The Duke suffered from chronic headaches and fever, induced by emotional strain or fatigue. (Churchill, IV, 219; Coxe, I, 138.)
17. Trevelyan, I, 299-301; 317-19; Coxe, I, 114-15.
18. Churchill, III, 204-05; Coxe, I, 113.
19. Churchill, III, 210; Coxe I, 117.
20. Churchill, III, 220-33; Coxe, I, 123.
21. August 27th by the Reformed Calendar which the Continent used at this time but which England did not adopt until 1752.

22. Coxe, I, 138; Trevelyan I, 314-15. Dispatches, I, 96.
23. Churchill III, 240-43; Trevelyan I, 316.
24. Trevelyan, I, 290.
25. "Letter to Heinsius, May 29, 1703," Trevelyan, I, Appendix A; "Letter to Godolphin," Coxe I, 143; Dispatches, I, 203.
26. Burnet, V, 10.
27. The others were Lord Lorne, Dalrymple, and the Earl of Huntington. (Coxe, I, 96.)
28. *Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, from 1702-1712*, Sir George Murray, ed., London 1848. II, 530.
29. *Ibid.*, I, 224.
30. Coxe, I, 138.
31. Churchill, III, 246.
32. Coxe, I, 142.
33. Churchill, III, 238.
34. *Ibid.*, 237.
35. The Whig members of the Junto — Halifax, Orford, Sunderland, Somers, and Wharton — hoped to persuade the Queen of the need for a solid Whig ministry to win the war. Their candidate for Commander-in-Chief was the Elector of Hanover, lawful heir to the English throne.
36. Trevelyan, I, Appendix A, 428.
37. Churchill, III, 266.
38. *Ibid.*, 253-58; Coxe, I, 139.
39. For a detailed account of the operation, see C. T. Atkinson, *Marlborough and the Rise of the British Army*, 186-212.
40. Recent scholarship sets the date of the decision in late March or early April. Churchill, III, 290-91; Trevelyan, I, 325-26.
41. Coxe, I, 154.
42. Trevelyan, I, 335.
43. Dispatches, I, 252-83.
44. *Ibid.*, 261.
45. *Private Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London, 1838), I, 162; 374; A. Audrey Locke, *The Seymour Family* (Boston, 1914), 163.
46. *Ibid.*
47. For the divisions in the Parliament of 1703-1704, see Robert Walcott, Jr., "English Party Politics," *Essays in Modern History*, 106-08.
48. W. T. Morgan, *English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne*, III, 122; Walcott, 87. For details of Somerset's activity in the elections of 1705, see *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, 15, VII, 189-201.
49. Sir Edward Seymour is reported to have said when he heard of Marlborough's secret march to the Danube that "they would run him down when he came back, as a pack of hounds do a hare." Burnet, V, 152.
50. Coxe, I, 230.
51. About a dozen members of the House of Commons, relatives, and placemen through the family influence of Marlborough (John Churchill), formed the nucleus of "the Churchill faction." Walcott, 90-91.
52. Hist. Mss. Com., 15, VII, 189-201.
53. Feiling, 400; Morgan, 314.

Early Jewish Books Printed in America

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

IN connection with the annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society held in Boston on February 14 and 15, an exhibit of early Jewish books printed in America was arranged in the Treasure Room of the Boston Public Library. Most of the volumes came from the Prince, Barton, and Lewis collections of the Library; the American Jewish Historical Society lent some of its most valuable items, and other rare volumes and manuscripts were borrowed from the famous Judaica collection of Mr. Lee M. Friedman, President of the Board of Trustees of the Library, and from 1948 to 1953 President of the American Jewish Historical Society.

The exhibit was on display from February 1 until March 31, and was viewed by thousands of visitors. The following notes are offered for the sake of the record, especially since this was the first exhibit of its kind arranged in the Treasure Room. They show the wealth of the Library in early Judaica of American interest. The items described may be regarded only as a nucleus of the Library's extensive resources in the field.

One of the two copies of the Bay Psalm Book in the Prince Collection was the highlight of the exhibit. This volume, published at Cambridge in 1640, and thus the earliest book printed in the British colonies of America, contains five Hebrew words in the Preface and, in the 119th Psalm, the entire Hebrew alphabet. The characters had to be specially cut for it. A manuscript draft of the Preface, in the handwriting of Richard Mather, was displayed alongside. The earliest New York imprint containing Hebrew letters, printed by William Bradford in 1694, is George Keith's *Truth Advanced*, a book of Christian doctrine. The title-page of the Library's copy bears the signature of the author.

Another early translation of the Psalms is the *Psalterium Americanum* of Cotton Mather, printed in Boston in 1718. The title-page states that it is "a Translation Exactly conformed unto the Original; but all in Blank Verse." The Prince copy

has a note on the fly-leaf: "C. Mather who communicated ye same to me in his own Hand writing before He Printed it. T. Prince." Bound with the book is a copy of the seven-page prospectus, "Proposals For Printing by Subscription Psalterium Americanum." In 1766 appeared a translation of the Jewish prayer book translated by Isaac Pinto, and printed in New York by John Holt. Two issues of the book, entitled *Prayers for Shabbath, Rosh-Hashanah, and Kippur . . . According to the Order of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, were published. They are identical, with the exception of a misprint on the title-page. The Library's copy has "Begining" for "Beginning."

The study of the Hebrew language, as might be expected, formed part of the original curriculum of Harvard College. However, there was no full-time instructor before the appointment, in 1722, of Judah Monis. Monis was born in Algiers or Italy in 1683 and came to America by way of Jamaica. After a residence of several years in New York, he moved to Cambridge, and in June 1720 submitted to the Corporation of Harvard College the draft of a Hebrew grammar, for which he received the degree of M. A. Two years later he was baptized publicly in the College Hall. On the occasion of this ceremony, Benjamin Colman preached a sermon and Monis delivered a discourse entitled "The Truth." (These two speeches, together with two other essays by Monis, "The Whole Truth" and "Nothing But the Truth," were printed in Boston the same year.) Soon afterwards Monis was appointed Instructor of Hebrew for one year. The appointment was renewed yearly until 1760, when he resigned his instructorship and retired to Northborough, Mass. He died in 1764.

In his classes Monis used his own grammar, instead of those which had been imported from England. At first his book existed only in manuscript copies; the one which belonged to Nicolas Bowes of the class of 1725 is now in the Library's collection. Naturally the labor of copying out an entire book was discouraging to the students, and in 1734 Thomas Hollis, the London merchant and patron of the College, had sent a set of Hebrew type especially for printing Monis's grammar. Subscriptions for the volume were taken beforehand, in order to meet expenses. A copy of the advertisement is headed with a

Hebrew inscription, to show a specimen of the type to be employed. The purpose of the volume was, the advertisement stated, "To facilitate the Instruction of all those that are desirous to obtain a clear Idea of the primitive Language by their own study, in order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the Sacred Oracles of the Old Testament, according to the Original." The price was eight shillings for a copy, but subscribers for six copies were promised a seventh, "gratis." The Library's copy of the sheet is supposed to be unique. The work, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Tongue*, was printed in 1735 by Jonas Green in Boston in an edition of one thousand copies. Every Sophomore and Freshman in the College was ordered to purchase one.

Lexicons and grammars followed, such as *An Hebrew Grammar* by Stephen Sewall, Monis's successor at Harvard, printed in Boston in 1763. Unfortunately the Hebrew types were destroyed by fire the following year, and no other edition of Sewall's work was printed until 1802. The first really extensive example of Hebrew printing, the *Biblia Hebraica*, appeared in 1814, published by Thomas Dobson in Philadelphia, in two volumes. It was based on the early eighteenth-century Amsterdam edition of Everard Van der Hooght, whose Latin marginal notes it contains.

A POPULAR subject among Puritan ministers was the conversion of the Jews, for the Millenium, which they so earnestly expected, could come about only after the dispersed Hebrew people were once more "called together" and converted to Christianity.

The first of Increase Mather's publications dealt with *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation, Explained and Applied*. Printed in 1669, no place is given on the title-page; however, there is a second title-page with a London imprint. For some time it was thought that the book might have been printed by Samuel Green at Cambridge, and on the basis of this possibility A. S. W. Rosenbach admits the item in his *An American Jewish Bibliography* (1926), which according to the sub-title is limited to books "printed in the United States from the establishment of

the press in the colonies until 1850." Thomas James Holmes in his authoritative *Increase Mather, a Bibliography of his Works* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1931) definitely gives London as place of publication. A similar treatise is Samuel Willard's *The Fountain Opened . . . Wherein also is proved that there shall be a National Calling of the Jews*. The text chosen for exposition was Zechariah xiii:1, "In that day there shall be a Fountain opened to the House of David, and to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, for Sin, and for Uncleaness." First published in 1700, the book was reprinted, after Willard's death, in 1722 and a third edition appeared with Samuel Sewall's *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* in 1727. In 1701 Cotton Mather included in his volume *American Tears upon the Ruines of the Greek Churches* an account of the recent conversion of a London Jew — Shalom Ben Shalomoh. He reprinted the story, he stated, in order "to Exalt the Free-Grace of God, and Excite the Prayers and Hopes of the Faithful, for the Time, when Jew and Greek, shall gather together to Serve the Lord."

Societies for the conversion of the Jews were organized in London, and in 1820 the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews was incorporated in New York. Its avowed object was "to invite and receive, from any part of the world, such Jews as do already profess the Christian religion, or are desirous to receive Christian instruction, [and] to form them into a settlement." Wide-spread interest was aroused in the organization, and in a few years there were more than two hundred auxiliary branches throughout the country. *Israel's Advocate*, the monthly publication of the Society from 1823-1827, had a circulation of twenty thousand, and its agent Joseph Frey gave innumerable talks to local groups.

Frey, whose full name was Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick, was born of Jewish parents in Bavaria in 1771. In 1798 he was baptized and began his studies to become a missionary in Africa. Instead, he went to London and worked for the missionary societies there. Finally he came to America and became the agent for the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews. He was a prolific writer, as well as editor of a Hebrew Bible and a dictionary. Among the Library's holdings are his autobiography, *The Converted Jew* (Boston,

Stephani Sewall. ex dono Authoris.

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לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית

DICKDOOK LESHON GNEBREET.

A

G R A M M A R

OF THE

Hebrew Tongue,

BEING

An E S S A Y

To bring the Hebrew Grammar into English,

to Facilitate the

I N S T R U C T I O N

Of all those who are desirous of acquiring a clear Idea of this

Primitive Tongue

by their own Studies;

In order to their more distinct Acquaintance with the SACRED ORACLES of
the Old Testament, according to the Original. And

Published more especially for the Use of the STUDENTS of HARVARD-COLLEGE
at Cambridge, in NEW-ENGLAND.

נֶחֱבֵר וְהִגֵּת בְּעִיּוֹן נִמְרָץ עַל יָדִי

יְהוּדָה מוֹנִישׁ

Composed and accurately Corrected,

By JUDAH MONIS, M. A.

B O S T O N, N. E.

Printed by JONAS GREEN, and are to be Sold by the AUTHOR
at his House in Cambridge. MDCCXXXV.

1816) — in a copy which once belonged to Hannah Adams, author of a history of the Jews; *Joseph and Benjamin*, a series of letters addressed to Benjamin, the author's brother, incorporating his lectures to Jewish audiences in London and elsewhere; and an enlarged edition of his *Hebrew Grammar* (New York, 1823) originally issued in London in 1811.

Alongside the missionary interest in the Jews grew the interest in the American Indians. In many quarters these two groups became fused in the public eye, owing to a theory that the Indians were descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel. This fascinating idea seems to have originated in 1585 with Father Duran, who stated his belief, in his history of New Spain, that "these natives are of the ten Tribes of Israel that Salmanasser, King of Assyrians, made prisoners and carried to Assyria in the time of Hoshea, King of Israel." But the first popular presentation in English was made by the Reverend Thomas Thorowgood of Norfolk, England, in an effort to raise funds for the work of John Eliot in Massachusetts. His book, published in London in 1650, was entitled *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race*. Thorowgood set the fashion for such treatises by relying exclusively on Biblical quotations and commentaries for proof. For instance: "If it seems unlikely, that the Jewes being in America should lose the Bible, the Law, and ceremonies, then let the Prophetie of Hosea be remembred, where tis foretold, that 'the children of Israel shall remaine many daies without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim.' " Indian customs and traditions are cited, such as washing of new-born infants, weeping at burials, and legends of the flood, and compared with Biblical references.

Samuel Sewall in *Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica* (Boston, 1697) and, much later, Samuel Mather in *America Known to the Ancients* (Boston, 1773) made attempts of the same sort. Mather, indeed, attempted to trace the original inhabitants of America back to the Flood, conjecturing that they were "the Descendants of Magog from Japhet." In the nineteenth century Elias Boudinot, President of the American Bible Society, added his voice in *A Star in the West* (Trenton, 1816). He points out, with many references to the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others,

that the descendants of Israel must be found in a country to the north and west from Judea; it must be a land that, at the time of the tribes going to, was without inhabitants, and free from heathen neighbours; and it must be beyond the seas from Palestine, the country to which part of them are to return in ships. He discusses the Indian language, customs, and religion, endeavoring to show that they celebrated a feast comparable to the Passover, and another like the Feast of Weeks. By 1850 the notion had been carried to absurdity; in *Our Israelitish Origin* the Reverend John Wilson of England not only agreed with the American Indian theory but "identified" the Anglo-Saxons with the descendants of Joseph.

THE Jewish population of the United States in 1820 was estimated at about three thousand, and there was no great increase until nearly the middle of the century. But there were scattered Jewish communities all along the Eastern seaboard, and the exhibit contained representative material from members of most of these. As early as 1697 Samuel Sewall wrote in *Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica*: "There are several Families of them [the Jews] at New-York; and New-England is seldom wholly without them. There were two at Boston; Anno 1697 viz. Mr. Joseph Frazon, and Mr. Samuel Frazon, his brother, to whom I am beholden for a sight of the Spanish Bible." A hundred years later, Moses Michael Hays (1739-1805) was a prominent resident of Boston. An insurance underwriter, he was a founder of a bank which later developed into the First National Bank of Boston, as well as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Massachusetts. On display was his manuscript book for 1786-87.

One of the earliest and most famous Jewish settlements, dating from 1658, was that of Newport, Rhode Island. Here still stands the Touro Synagogue; and here was preached, in 1773, the first Jewish sermon to be preserved in book form. The preacher for the occasion was Rabbi Haym Isaac Carregal (Karigal), a native of Palestine, who spent nearly a year at Newport. Another early sermon was delivered by Gershom Mendez Seixas, minister of Congregation Shearith Israel of

New York, in 1798. The date was the ninth of May, "observed as a day of humiliation, &c. conformably to a recommendation of the President of the United States of America," a time when there seemed danger of war with France.

New York City, then as now, attracted outstanding men of many types. One of the most interesting and versatile of these was Mordecai Manuel Noah (1785-1851). Born in Philadelphia, his youth was divided between that city and Charleston, South Carolina. His interests from the first lay in writing and in politics. The first important step in his career came in 1813, when he was appointed consul to Tunis, with the especial task of negotiating the release of twelve Americans captured by Algerian pirates. The mission was successful, and Noah recorded the story in his *Travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary States* (New York, 1819). On his return to America, he took up residence in New York, becoming editor of the *National Advocate*, a Democratic newspaper. This phase of his life is represented by a series of sketches reprinted anonymously as *Essays of Howard, on Domestic Economy* (New York, 1820). At the same time, he produced a group of plays on historical themes, including *She Would be a Soldier* (New York, 1819), written for the New York benefit performance of Catherine Lee Sugg, an English actress, and *The Grecian Captive* (New York, 1822), about the Greek struggle for liberty from the Turks. In 1823, Noah was admitted to the New York bar, but the remainder of his life was concerned more with journalism than the law (although he was associate judge of the New York Court of Sessions for a year).

Samuel Benjamin Helbert Judah (1799-1876) was a native New Yorker, who like Noah had aspirations to be a playwright in his youth. Three of his dramas were produced, but none achieved much success. *A Tale of Lexington* (New York, 1823), the author states, "was planned, committed to paper, and given in the hands of Mr. Simpson, in the short period of four days." This may have had something to do with its failure! Later in the same year Judah, writing under the pen-name of Terentius Phlogobombus, brought out a small volume of satiric verse entitled *Gotham and the Gothamites* (New York, 1823). More than a hundred prominent New Yorkers were attacked in its

pages, and the author found himself involved in a libel suit which cost him four hundred dollars and five weeks in prison.

A third Jewish playwright, known primarily as a dramatic critic, was Isaac Harby (1788-1828) of Charleston, South Carolina. *Alberti* was one of his two tragi-comedies played and published at Charleston in 1819. Harby was one of the founders of the Reformed Society of Israelites.

But the author of works of far greater fame than any of these three men was Lorenzo Da Ponte, the librettist of Mozart's operas *Le Nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* (first American edition, New York, 1826), and *Così Fan Tutte*. The son of a Jewish tanner, Da Ponte was born near Venice in 1749. Originally called Emanuele Conegliano, he was converted to Christianity and, as was customary, took the name of the bishop who baptized him. In 1805, bankruptcy forced him to start life anew in America. In 1825 he was appointed professor of Italian literature at Columbia College, and he did much to foster the spread of Italian culture in this country. One of his projects was an Italian subscription library — the Boston Public Library has an undated broadside soliciting membership.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, one of the most active and prominent Jews in America was Isaac Leiser (1806-68) of Philadelphia. He was born in Westphalia, but emigrated to America at the age of eighteen. Only five years later he was elected minister of Mikveh Israel, the oldest Jewish congregation in Philadelphia. Besides his duties at the synagogue, Leiser was active in teaching, writing, and organizing various charities. Among the texts he published for the use of school-children is *The Hebrew Reader* (Philadelphia, 1842). Rabbi Leiser founded, and edited for twenty-five years, *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, the first successful American Jewish periodical.

THE American Jewish Historical Society contributed a number of choice books and manuscripts, ranging from continental paper money signed by authorized Jews to the marriage certificate of Haym Solomon, who was noted for his financial assistance to the American government during the Revolution.

The earliest document displayed was the record of the trial of Miguel Hernandez de Almeida by the Mexican Inquisition. Almeida, a Portuguese miner, was charged with being a Jewish proselyte; the case, however, seems never to have been concluded, since the principal witness confessed to perjury. An interesting item was the letter of the Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, S. C., addressed to George Washington upon his election to the Presidency. In it Washington is compared to Moses, Samuel, David, Maccabeus, and "other holy men of old, who were raised up by God for the deliverance of our nation his people, from their oppressors." In 1777 Benjamin Franklin wrote from Paris to his nephew Jonathan Williams of Boston, expressing the hope that America would become "the asylum of all the oppressed in Europe, and the resort of the wealthy who love liberty."

The printed books contained a number of first editions of Jewish prayer-books, including the *Evening Service of Rosh-ashanah and Kippur* in English (New York, 1761), the first book of prayers for the holidays published in this country. The earliest edition of the Jewish prayer-book in both Hebrew and English did not appear until 1826, and the first American edition of the Passover rites not until 1837. A rarity is the prospectus for a Hebrew Bible issued in 1810 by Mills Day of New Haven. His effort to obtain subscribers failed and, as noted above, no such work was published in this country before 1814.

Another section dealt with a number of Jewish Congregations. The earliest item was a manuscript copy of the dedication service of the Congregation Mikve Israel in Philadelphia. Although the Congregation had its beginnings about 1745, the first synagogue was built in 1782, at the time when Gershom Seixas was rabbi. The latter, minister of the Congregation Shearith Israel of New York for many years, was forced to flee to Connecticut and then to Philadelphia during the Revolution. The dedication service, signed by Seixas and by Jonas Phillips, president of the Congregation, includes a prayer for "His Excellency George Washington, Captain & General Commander in Chief of the Federal Army of these States." In 1813 the *Rules and Regulations* of the Congregation were printed, those hitherto adopted "having been lost or mislaid, and having become



Bookplate of Sir Moses Montefiore
From Collection of Dr. Cecil Roth

obsolete or unadapted to the present state of this Congregation."

Also shown were *The Constitution of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society* (Philadelphia, 1825), listing the names of over a hundred subscribers for 1820, and *The Constitution of the Reformed Society of Israelites* (Charleston, S. C., 1825). This Society, formed by thirty-eight members of the Congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, was the first Reformed congregation in the country. It desired a change in the ritual, particularly the use of English for the prayers and sermons, and an abridgment of the service.

THE highlight of the section devoted to the material lent by Mr. Friedman was a letter-book of Aaron Lopez, a well-known merchant and for many years a resident of Newport, R. I. Lopez, born in Portugal in 1731, emigrated to America with his wife and family in 1752. Starting with local trade, dealing primarily in spermaceti candles, he expanded his business until in 1775 he owned, or had an interest in, over thirty vessels,



*Book-Plate of Israel Solomons
From Collection of Dr. Cecil Roth*

trading with England, Holland, Spain, Jamaica, and the Azores. The outbreak of the Revolution forced him to move to Leicester, Massachusetts, and was disastrous to his commercial ventures. In May 1782 he was drowned while making a trip to Rhode Island with his family. The letter-book covers the last year of Lopez's life, and in general deals with business matters. The last letter, to Moses Seixas of Newport, is dated May 23, only five days before his death. Speaking of a recent packet of letters from Amsterdam, Lopez wrote:

"In it I found One for you which I shall not venture to forward you by this indirect & uncertain Conveyance but will take it with me next Monday & forward it you myself from Providence when I intend to proceed with Mrs. Lopez & her infirm Dear Perent Spend One day there togethir & proceed alone to Boston while my good Company is to take their retreat to Leicester & Compleat an exursion which we hope may Prove benifectial to your worthey Old Gentleman whose alarming disorders on the S[t]oma[c]h Seems to gain upon him & cause us great uneasiness."

Outstanding among the printed material was Volume I of the first American Jewish periodical, *The Jew*, edited by Solomon Jackson from March 1823 to March 1825. The primary purpose of this publication, as its sub-title states, was to raise a voice of protest against *Israel's Advocate*, issued, as seen above, by the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews.

English books of American interest included a refutation of Thomas Thorowgood's *Jews in America*. This tract, entitled *Americans no Iewes, or Improbabilities that the Americans are of that Race* was written by Sir Hamon L'Estrange in 1652. Although L'Estrange mentions that in his youth he took part in an expedition searching for the North-west Passage, he confines his arguments to erudite references, rather than personal observation. The Reverend Samuel Johnson, President of King's College (now Columbia University) from 1754 to 1763, wrote *An English and Hebrew Grammar* (London, 1767) upon his return to England.

The first Jewish bookseller in America was Benjamin Gomez, whose name appears in the New York directory of 1791 as lo-

cated at 32 Maiden Lane, "near the Fly-market." He carried a wide stock — books of history, law, religion, medicine, poetry, novels, as well as stationery articles. Later he expanded his business to include publishing, issuing over twenty books between 1792 and 1799. From a number of Gomez items in the Friedman Collection, the one chosen for display was *Joseph Priestley's Letters to the Jews*, printed together with David Levi's reply, *Letters to Dr. Priestley* (New York, 1794).

THREE cases were filled with book-plates from the collection of Miss Fanny Goldstein, Branch Librarian of the West End Branch Library. Included were plates of university and public libraries, temples and congregations, as well as of individuals. Designs ranged from simple to elaborate ones, often full of symbolism, with the seven-branched candlestick or the Star of David worked into the designs. An institution might include a drawing of its building on the plate, as for example the Temple Ohabei Shalom of Boston and the Beth Israel Hospital.

Concurrently with the exhibit in the Treasure Room, a display of book-plates loaned by the noted Oxford scholar, Dr. Cecil Roth, was placed on view in the Sargent and Chavannes Galleries. It comprised nearly a hundred items of Jewish institutions and collectors of Great Britain. Many of the plates contained armorial bearings, such as those of Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885), the great British financier and philanthropist; of Henry Bevens of Lincolns Inn; of the eighteenth-century physician Isaac Schomberg; and of David Solomon Sassoon. The coat of arms was granted to the Sassoon family in 1862; its motto is in Hebrew and the charges are all Jewish emblems — the Lion of Judah, a palm tree, a pomegranate, and a flying dove with a sprig of olive in its beak. The plate of Israel Solomons, himself a famous *ex-libris* collector, represents part of a library; that of Asher J. Myers features a Jewish father surrounded by children; and that of the Adler family includes the eagle, Rabbi Garsek chose an air-plane in his design, and Rabbi Benjamin Friedman, a representation of Michelangelo's "Moses."

Las Casas and the Black Legend

By LOUIS UGALDE

IN 1552 — four hundred years ago — the first books by Bartolomé de Las Casas were published. This famous Spanish bishop has become one of the most controversial figures in the Spanish conquest of America. He has been called a defender and apostle of the Indians, a great humanitarian, a dangerous fanatic, a sincere fool. After reading his works, one ceases to wonder where historians got their basis for the so-called Black Legend. The children in our schools grow up with the idea that the Spanish *conquistadores* were a band of criminals with an insatiable thirst for blood and gold. This Black Legend, propounded by the English and the Dutch when they found it necessary to defend their own colonial enterprises, was in large measure derived from the works of Bartolomé de Las Casas.¹

The Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library is rich in early Las Casas material. Included are rare original editions of the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (Seville, 1552); the *Disputa o controversia entre Las Casas y Sepúlveda* (Seville, 1522); the *Entre los remedios q do fray Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Seville, 1552); and a number of Las Casas's letters printed in London in the nineteenth century. Another edition of the *Brevísima relación*, printed in Venice in 1630, has Spanish and Italian in double columns. Two very important works not published until recently are the *Historia de las Indias* (Madrid, 1875) and the *Historia apologética de las Indias* (Madrid, 1909).

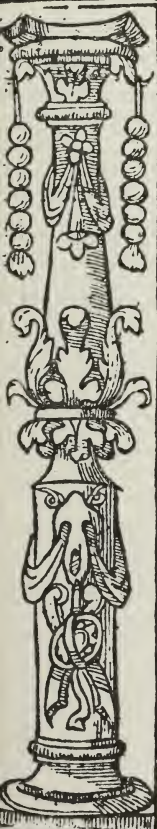
The Library has also a number of translations of La Casas's works, including the extremely rare first English version of the *Brevísima relación*, entitled *The Spanish Colonie* (London, 1583). Other English translations are *Briefe narration of the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards* (London, 1625), *The Tears of the Indians* (London, 1656),² and *A Relation of the first voyages and discoveries made by the Spaniards in America*, (London, 1699). There is a French translation published in 1701 and an Italian version dated 1843. In the Library's collections is also the most important Latin translation by Theodore de Bry:

Narratio regionum Indicarum per Hispanos quosdam deuastatarum verissima (Frankfort, 1598), which contains some of the famous horror pictures which so inflamed the British and the Dutch against the Spaniards.

Las Casas's most comprehensive work, the *Historia de las Indias*, is composed of one sanguinary chapter after another. The author never seems to tire of describing the Indians with their hands cut off, their chests cut open, disembowelled, and so on. The impression one gets from these chapters is always the same. According to the bishop, the Indian was always a gentle, innocent lamb, happy in his natural life, with the best possible intentions towards the Spaniards; on the other hand, the *conquistador* was a traitor and a murderer, who came to exploit and to kill.

Las Casas defends Queen Isabella, absolving her of the blame for all these crimes, with the explanation that her decrees were fair and just but they were shamelessly ignored in practice in the colonies. He tells of how the *comendador* wrote to the Catholic sovereigns saying that the Indians were lazy, did not want to work even for money, and would not have anything to do with the Spaniards, which made proselytizing them to Christianity impossible. After this he inserts the Queen's decree, which was intended to serve as a guide for relations between Indians and Spaniards. Isabella demanded that every effort be made for better communication between natives and colonists; all Indian *caciques* were to assign a certain number of Indians to work for the Spaniards, with commensurate pay; the needs of the Indians were to be considered always, and they should not be sent too far from home; they were to work only when the colonists could not do all their work; the work was to be moderate, and they were not to be made to work on Sundays or other holidays; the wages must be fair; the Indians were free and were not to be treated like slaves; and finally, if these orders could not be administered with benefit to the natives, they were to be disregarded, "for the Indians were worth more than the gold."

Las Casas insists that not a single direction was carried out properly. He relates all the violations of the eight parts, and adds others. Thus he describes the efforts for better commu-



Breuissima rela
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míngo.

Año. 1552.



nications with the natives with the help of swords and clubs; how the colonists grabbed all of the Indians and distributed them among themselves (he vehemently despised the *encomienda* system); how they sent the Indians hundreds of leagues from their homes, allowing them to return home only once in eight months; how they made them work in the mines until they became ill and died; how they compelled them to work on holidays without concern for their instruction in Christianity; how the Indians were paid one half-dollar per year; how they became virtual slaves, flogged cruelly for any minor offense; and how seven thousand babies died because their mothers, forced to work, could not care for them properly.

THERE has always been some doubt about the trustworthiness of the Spanish bishop. The English historian William Robertson wrote in 1777: "I am satisfied that upon a more minute scrutiny into their (the Spaniards') early operations in the New World, however reprehensible the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favorable light."³ And in this century the Swiss historian Eduard Fueter charges:

Las Casas offers the most marked contrast with his contemporary, Oviedo. He is a fanatical theorist, a perfect doctrinaire, incapable of learning a lesson from the most severe experiences. All his work is reduced to one purpose; he wants to show that the pacific, affable natives of America, endowed by nature with all the virtues, have been corrupted only by the Spaniards. He invents fantastic stories concerning the immense number of Indians before the Spaniards came in order to impute a monstrous diminution of the population to Spanish brutality.⁴

The *Historia de las Indias* seems indeed an inordinate exaggeration of an enterprise already bad enough. In his third volume Las Casas explains how, after getting permission from the Crown, the Spaniards gathered forty thousand Indians from all the islands around and took them to Española to work in the mines. Every one of them died. He tells how years later one Pedro de Isla set out on an expedition to these same islands to gather all the Indians that remained in order to establish a colony, and found only eleven.

The *Historia de las Indias* and the *Historia apologética de las Indias* are Las Casas's most extensive books, but the work which gained the widest renown, provoked an explosion of accusations, and contributed the biggest impulse to the famous legend is the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, a pamphlet of about one hundred and fifty pages. This pamphlet, translated into English as Casas' *Horrid Massacres* for use as anti-Spanish propaganda under the Commonwealth, must be considered as an exercise in hyperbole. After describing the Spaniards' bestiality, the author goes to the opposite pole in speaking of the Indians:

God created these simple people without evil and without guile. They are most obedient and faithful to their natural leaders and to the Christians they serve. They are most humble, patient, peaceful, and quiet. They are without hate, desire for quarrel or vengeance. On the other hand, they are more delicate than princes and die easily from sickness or work.⁵

When one recalls the unflinching courage of the Panucan Indians and the ferocity of the Araucanians — in both cases a negation of the qualities Las Casas attributes to the natives — one must consider him naive.

Las Casas exaggerates even in his geographic descriptions. He states that "the island of Cuba is perhaps as long as the distance between Valladolid and Rome."⁶ Needless to say, the larger the islands, the more Indians might have been killed by the Spaniards. To be sure, further on he tells that the colonists murdered more than fifteen million Indians in forty years, that is, more Indians than there were in all America.⁷ Yet there are still many Indians to be seen all over Latin America, while only a small number of miserable natives has survived in North America.

Naturally, one must admit that there is some truth in the stories of cruelties told by Las Casas, but the exaggeration is so unrestrained that the modern reader is inclined to disbelieve them in their entirety. He relates how the conquerors burned alive every native *cacique* they came across. They never left a town without setting fire to it. They killed every baby they saw; they quartered children and threw the pieces to their dogs; they cut off thousands of arms, legs, and tongues. One gets the

impression that they did not have time for anything else. A striking example of the bishop's distortion is his account of what happened in Cholula. He relates that the people of the town came to receive the Spaniards with all respect and bearing presents, and yet the Spaniards massacred most of them in order to inflict fear upon those that remained. Bernal Díaz del Castillo tells what is probably the true version. The "gentle and innocent" Indians of Cholula, following Montezuma's command, had dug deep, covered-over holes in which the Spaniards were to fall. Cortés found out about the trap, and killed the Indians before they could kill him.

One of Las Casas's bitterest critics was his contemporary Bernardo Vargas Machuca, a soldier. Unfortunately, in his intense desire to contradict the bishop, he turns the picture upside down with the result that the Spaniards are the meek and gentle lambs and the Indians are the bestial killers. If the *conquistadores* commit a cruelty now and then, it is only to teach the Indians how to behave. He says that on the island of Española the natives used to sacrifice twenty thousand victims every year, and therefore the Spaniards' war against them was God's war against sinners.

Machuca's sophistry reaches its apex when he explains why the conquerors took Indian women and children from their families. He defends their woman-stealing with the argument that the Indians committed incest with their daughters and nieces, and since this was a mortal sin, the Spaniards were justified in taking them away. The children they took were brought up better in the Christian way of life, and were dressed decently. The Spaniards were always merciful, affable, and reasonable. They fired a town only when they found themselves in a bad situation and wanted to make the Indians come out into the open; the latter, however, were so stubborn that they preferred to be burned alive. The author claims that the Indians killed more than a hundred thousand Spaniards.

THE truth must lie somewhere between the two exaggerated accounts. The history must have been gray rather than black or white.

The experiments of Rodrigo de Figueroa on the island of Española and Baltasar de Castro on Puerto Rico in trying to set up Indian communities ended in failure. Somewhat later, in 1520, Las Casas founded an Indian colony at Cumaná. He wanted to prove to the world that the Indians would live in an exemplary way; but the settlement failed. It has been suggested that the Spaniards came from the other islands to disturb them, which may be partly true; the real reason, however, was that the Indians were not as perfect as the good bishop thought.

There was so much controversy over Las Casas's *Brevísima relación* that Charles V was obliged to call a *junta* of literary men and theologians to examine the work. The famous humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda attacked the bishop, denying that the Indian was living in a Golden Age, and insisting that the superior European culture must impose itself on the indigenous culture. Menéndez Pidal sums up the situation in the most satisfactory way: "At the very moment," he writes, "when the ancient notion of European history-laden empire was dying out, there arose the Spanish Empire, without history, the first one of modern times not anchored to Roman and mediaeval law, but eager to discover new standards of natural and international law. Hence the opposition which existed between the humanitarian cleric Las Casas and the humanist scholar Ginés de Sepúlveda, both of them inhuman, for the former made all colonization impossible, and the latter permitted it to flourish under tyranny."⁸

Certain historians believe that Las Casas exaggerated merely to impress people more deeply with the cruelties of the Spanish colonization. This seems hard to accept. It is possible that some of his rancor was born out of envy. An example of such a frustration appears in Antonio de Guevara, the author of *Marco Aurelio* or *Reloj de Príncipes* (*The Dial of Princes*). Guevara tried to become an important figure at Court but was obliged to retire to the country where he wrote *Menosprecio de corte y alabanza de aldea* (*Scorn of Court and Praise of Country*), in which he criticizes precisely what he longed for. A Spanish proverb says, "Tell me what you deprecate and I'll tell you what you want." Guevara wanted to be a soldier, but failing he became a priest. When he heard of the brilliant exploits of the *conquis-*

tadores, he interpolated "El Villano del Danubio" ("The Native of the Danube") in his *Marco Aurelio*. The *villano* — wild but natural, happy and intrinsically good, uncorrupted by civilization — is in reality the American Indian.

In his *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century*, J. H. Parry states, "The key to the whole of Las Casas's thought was his insistence upon liberty. He laid down as the essentials of civilized existence that men should live in politically organised communities and should be entirely free."⁹ Yet it was Las Casas who suggested to Charles V that negro slaves be sent to the island of Haiti to free the Indians from their work in the mines! Even Cardinal Ximenes, when solicited to encourage the slave commerce, rejected the proposition. "Las Casas," Robertson writes, "from the inconsistency natural to men who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favorite point, was incapable of making this distinction. While he contended earnestly for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enslave the inhabitants of another region."¹⁰ The shipment of Negroes to the New World had begun when Las Casas was a young man, and therefore he cannot be blamed for beginning the slave trade as some have claimed. Nevertheless, his recommendation helped to increase the slave traffic.

Las Casas had been defended as a great altruist who lost his perspective in becoming obsessed with his fetish, the Indian,¹¹ and who was convinced that the Negroes could stand the work in the mines better than the Indians.¹² According to others, he reasoned that, since a certain number of Negroes were doomed to slavery in Africa, they would be better off in America where the work would be less onerous and where they might be Christianized. However, the bishop must have been acquainted with the horrors on board the slave-ships and the evils of slavery in general. He must have known that the increase of traffic would involve thousands of Negroes who might have escaped. With the enthusiasm of a philanthropist he demanded freedom for the Indian, and with the obduracy of a tyrant recommended slavery for the Negro. Such contradiction cannot be reconciled with the ideology of a humanitarian. As a matter of fact, as Lewis Hanke points out on the basis of the *Historia de las In-*

dias, Las Casas as a young man had taken part in the conquest of Cuba and, although a priest, had accepted booty and Indians, under the *encomienda* system.¹³ He was forty years old when he was converted to his new views.

Owing to these charges Spain has been stigmatized for four hundred years with the Black Legend, she alone being accused of crimes which were common in that epoch to all nations.

Notes

1. "Editions of Las Casas were brought out in England whenever patriotism required that the specter of a cruel and tyrannical Spain be evoked." (Lewis Hanke, *Bartolomé de Las Casas*, Philadelphia, 1952), 56.
2. This volume belongs to the Barton Collection.
3. William Robertson, *The History of America* (London, 1777), Preface, xi.
4. Eduard Fueter, *Histoire de l'historiographie moderne*, (Paris, 1914), 370.
5. Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, (Paris, n.d.), 19.
6. *Ibid.*, 22.
7. Rómulo D. Carbia charges that Las Casas deliberately falsified and even fabricated documents to support his position. (*Historia de la leyenda negra hispanoamericana*, Buenos Aires, 1943.)
8. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *The Spaniards in their History* (New York, 1950), 149.
9. J. H. Perry, *The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1940), 48.
10. Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 318.
11. Bernard Moses, *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America* (New York, 1922), 34.
12. Agustín Yáñez, *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas* (Mexico, 1942).
13. Lewis Hanke, *op. cit.*, 39.

Prints of Michel Ciry and Auguste-Jean Gaudin

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department is pleased to announce the acquisition of representative groups of prints by Michel Ciry and Auguste-Jean Gaudin through the generous gift of Mr. Hiram C. Merrill, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, who has long since been an interested friend of the Department.

The etchings of these young French artists were honored by the Comité National de la Gravure Française by the inclusion of their work in the exchange exhibition of Contemporary French Prints, which was shown in the Wiggin Gallery during the months of October and November 1952.

If one can judge the results of this recent international exchange between our two countries, it would be safe to say that a sense of growing kinship between them has developed with a greater understanding through the graphic arts. Since it has always been felt that a knowledge of French art is indispensable, especially in prints, new conceptions by young men working on the copper plate are eagerly sought.

Michel Ciry was born at La Baule, France, on August 31, 1919. He began to exhibit his prints in 1939, and by 1941 his work was already accepted for exhibition with the Peintres-Graveurs Français and the Salon d'Automne. Success came to him early in his career, for he was awarded one of France's highest honors, the National Art Prize in 1945. About this time his efforts were also recognized through purchases by the State. He has had international recognition by one-man shows in Brussels, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Lausanne, Berne, Barcelona, Zurich, and Paris. He has illustrated several books, important among them *La Reine Morte* by Montherlant, *Dominique* by Fromentin, *Relève du Matin* by Montherlant, and particularly *Madame Bovary*.

Ciry began etching immediately after his general art training. For a time he experimented in lithography and dry-point, and, feeling that he could best express himself in etching, returned to the needle and acid again, devoting his talent more

and more to religious subjects, especially since 1949. He commands serious attention and respect, for he is attempting one of the most difficult of subjects in the whole range of art. Any artist attempting religious subjects challenges the old masters in a field which has drawn mightily from their knowledge and power, and he naturally exposes his work to comparison.

The artist's aim is clear. In "Saint François," "Saint Jean," "Saint Sebastian," and "Jesus" one observes plates which he etched with reverent feeling and concentration. These strong heads, with firm sensitive features, fully express themselves in solidly drawn and sculptured planes. A number of the prints rendered with dark backgrounds create a certain mystery of the unknown. These profound tones, although drawn in heavy strokes, are full of atmosphere and transparency which give substance to the major theme that they support. The textures are obtained by emphasis on form and the knowledge of material, which enhance the artist's concern for the spiritual feeling for his subject.

The message contained in such plates as "La Visitation," "L'Annonciation," "Mise au Tombeau," Numbers 1 and 2, and "Baptême de Christ" is more in the traditional manner. They are etched with fervor and pathos, and are developed with an inspiration which transcends technical skill alone. The grief and intensity contained in the plates denote warmth and strength of character as well as a grasp of subtle dramatic concern.

Balanced by the work of Ciry is that of Auguste-Jean Gaudin. It is interesting to note that both men employ etching in all its purity, with no adulteration or misuse of the medium. To know their prints is indispensable for the connoisseur; and the increasing interest created by the younger generation of graphic artists is in great part due to a group to which these two promising men belong.

Auguste-Jean Gaudin was born at Argentre-du-Plessis, Ille-et-Vilaine, on July 29, 1914. He was a student of Pierre Galle, and also attended an evening course at the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Rennes. Early in his career he worked in etching, dry-point, lithography, and engraving at the same time. He exhibited at the exposition of the Peintres-Graveurs Français in 1947 and at the Cercle de la Librairie in the same year. Since



"St. Jean," an Etching by Michel Ciry



L'Averse ("Shower of Rain"), an Etching by Auguste-Jean Gaudin

then his development has been one of steady growth, and his recognition is now fully established in international private and museum collections.

To suggest an order of importance in Gaudin's plates would be difficult, for much depends upon the individual's choice. However, "L'Averse," which is one of the outstanding compositions in the artist's *oeuvre*, displays a remarkable broadness, reminiscent in a distant sense of the graphic arts of the past. He has given this subject a contemporary feeling of permanence and achievement. One of the most important factors is the accomplishment of the artist in an all-over pattern. In this regard his prints can be associated with the conceptions of similar subjects done by old masters. For example, his "L'Averse" has a certain affinity to Rembrandt's "Three Trees." His talent is too subtle and settled, however, to have been influenced by much of the work surrounding him, either of the past or present. His work possesses a real creative impulse and strikes one as being of his time. Gaudin depicts the life about him, popular scenes in and about Paris, dramatic figures and interpretations of his mind, in forms which engage his inner as well as outer consciousness.

It is not a habit of Gaudin to look upon a subject in the characteristic extreme way of any contemporary school, but rather in a combination of influences which are spontaneous as if come upon by chance. His final state of the plate shows clearly the circumstances in which the work was conceived; the season, the time of day, or the weather. Many of his subjects convey the character of a sketch, and in their free treatment they reflect bigness which marks the work of an accomplished etcher.

A study of Gaudin's plates discloses a personal handling of the etching needle. In such prints as "La Sortie du Cirque," "Porte de Vanves," "L'Eglise," "Le Quatorze Juillet," and "L'Atelier de Volti" he employs a large, open technique in long cross-hatching in keenly bitten lines, direct and vigorous. Surprisingly enough, they produce effects of contour and solidity, which are heightened by the white spaces between the lines giving atmosphere, vibration, and color to the wide range of values in the dark masses. This method is wholly adequate to Gaudin's artistic needs, for it produces form and movement

by suggestion rather than detailed study. If achievement in draftsmanship is the power to suggest, then Gaudin has given us lasting results by the process of elimination and a simplification of all but the essentials.

A precise estimation of Ciry's and Gaudin's work and talent is outside the scope of these few paragraphs. However, this exhibition attests the fact that they are artists of unusual ability, with prolific ideas and inexhaustible experimentation — qualities possessed by few of the younger men in the graphic arts today. Suffice it to say that interesting and accomplished as their prints are, it is the great promise of what we believe will issue from them in the future that makes the most impressive appeal. No one can study their work without understanding why it has created such an enthusiastic audience of print-lovers, artists, and connoisseurs.

Notes on Rare Books

Vignola's Rule of the Five Orders

THE Library has two copies of the *Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura* (Rule of the Five Orders of Architecture) by Iacomo Barozzio da Vignola; one printed by Giovanni Orlando in Rome in 1602, and the other by Henricus Van Schoel, also in Rome, perhaps a few years earlier or later. The first edition appeared in 1562.

The work is a classic of the later Renaissance, which went through innumerable editions and was translated into most European languages. The Library's copies are large folios bound in old vellum, and both contain, besides the decorative title-page and the preface, forty-four plates of illustrations with brief expositions, including seven plates by Michelangelo. The two editions resemble each other in every respect except that in the one by Orlando the illustrations appear consistently on the recto of the leaves, whereas in the Van Schoel edition they are irregularly dispersed. (The latter edition is not listed by Brunet, Graesse, or Vignola's biographer Loukomsky.) The magnificent title-page is the same as that of the first edition: an elaborate portico with Corinthian columns is surmounted by an armorial shield with fleur-de-lis and a cardinal's hat, the latter in compliment to Vignola's patron, Cardinal Farnese, to whom the book is dedicated. In the center of the page is a bust portrait of the author, bearded and pensive. On either side of the portico is an allegorical figure holding the tools of the architect.

Barozzio, known as Vignola after the town where he was born in 1507, first learned painting at Bologna, then went to Rome to study architecture. The Vitruvian Academy assigned to him the task of measuring monuments, and it was out of this activity that his famous work sprang. As a young man he helped the artist Primaticcio in the embellishment of the garden of Fontainebleau for Francis I. (In that time," Vasari wrote, "Primaticcio had Jacopo Barozzi and others make the bronze horse which is in Campidoglio, a large part of the historic sculptures of the Colonna, the statue of Venus . . . and the statue of Cleopatra, to cast them all in bronze.") But the death of the King put an end to the work. Vignola returned to Italy and worked two years in Bologna, building not only palaces and villas, but a bridge over the canal Samoggio, and accomplishing the engineering feat of extending the canal of Naviglio. Finally, at the invitation of Pope Julius III, he established himself in Rome,

where he built many churches, among them the Church of Jesus (Gesù) and the Church of St. Andrew. Farther afield, he built the Church of Our Lady of Angels at Assisi and the chapel of St. Francis at Perugia. The palace which he built for Cardinal Farnese at Caprarole is considered his masterpiece. Notable is his connection with the construction of St. Peter's in Rome, first as Michelangelo's assistant, and after the death of the master as the director of the work. The two small cupolas at either side of the dome are Vignola's creation. He died in 1573 at the age of sixty-six, leaving an unfinished manuscript on perspective which, completed by Egnatio Danti, was printed in Rome in 1583. (The Boston Public Library has a copy of the first edition.)

In his preface to the *Regola delli Cinque Ordini* Vignola states that he had been interested in knowing the varying opinions of writers on ornaments, in order to compare them with one another and with the works of antiquity, and to draw from these a rule which might satisfy everyone capable of judging this art. He concentrated on the five orders which may be seen among the antiquities of Rome and, making exact measurements, found that the most beautiful ones had "a certain correspondence and proportion," so that in each the smallest part might be used to measure the larger. In applying his rule to the Doric order, for example, he examined the columns of the Theater of Marcellus, but also took other structures into consideration. Without concerning himself with the customary arm, foot, or palm measures, he adhered to an arbitrary measure called *modulo*, divided into parts.

The first of the forty-four plates shows the five orders — Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite — side by side. There follow examples of columns of each order, with and without the pedestals. Other plates display details of the capitals of columns as well as of the entablatures. Plate 32 shows a cornice of Vignola's own design, ornamented with the same emblems which appear on the title-page: an arrow striking a target which hangs from a tree, and a ship with a windblown sail. Still other plates illustrate parts of buildings that Vignola designed — the doors of the Farnese palace at Caprarole, of the Church of San Lorenzo in Damaso, Rome, and of the palace of the Chancellery, Rome. The last seven plates present works by Michelangelo — the gates "Porta Flaminia" and "Portia Pia" in both front view and profile; a doorway in the new building of the Capitol; and the massive portals of the garden of the Duke of Sforza and of the villas of the Patriarch Grimagno and the Cardinal of Sermoneta.

It should be noted that the copy printed by Van Schoel belonged to John Adams. It contains a manuscript French translation of the text on opposite pages, with archaic spelling which suggests that the translator lived in the early seventeenth century. This date seems all the more probable, since the first printed French translation appeared in 1631.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

The Landslide in the White Mountains

IN the October 1952 issue of the Boston Public Library Quarterly B. Bernard Cohen reported his discovery of written accounts of a landslide in the White Mountains that probably suggested to Hawthorne the plot of his tale, "The Ambitious Guest." The same event was evidently the inspiration of an episode in Oliver Wendell Holmes's novel *Elsie Venner*. There is a strong possibility that Holmes learned of the catastrophe from Hawthorne. Samuel Griswold Goodrich's account in *A System of Universal Geography* (1832) may have been the source for both writers, but it had appeared twenty-nine years before Holmes published his novel; and newspaper accounts preceded Goodrich's by six more years.

In *Elsie Venner* much of the action centers around the large country house of Dudley Venner, located at the base of a mountain. Near the conclusion of the novel a landslide occurs which damages the house slightly but does not destroy it. As in the account quoted by Mr. Cohen, the landslide takes place during the night, following a severe storm of wind and rain. Venner has anticipated the landslide, and has sent away everyone except an old servant woman who desires to remain. When the sound of the avalanche is heard, the old woman rushes out of the house and is later found dead, although her death is only indirectly brought on by the avalanche. Venner, remaining in the house, is unharmed. The most significant link between the novel and the actual event is contained in the reason given for Venner's decision not to run out:

Dudley Venner rose from his chair, folded his arms, and awaited his fate. There was no knowing where to look for safety; and he remembered too well the story of the family that was lost by rushing out of the house, and so hurrying into the very jaws of death. (*Elsie Venner*, Boston, 1861, II, 284.)

This episode plays a part in the symbolism of the novel, and con-

tributes significantly to its meaning. One may assume, therefore, that it was not merely a spur-of-the-moment inspiration, and that Holmes's interest in the event is another indication of the force with which this tragic accident appealed to the imagination of literary men.

GORDON MILLS

The Poets and the Centennial Exposition

PLANS for a Centennial Exposition in honor of American Independence were under discussion ten years in advance. By 1871 a Commission was set up, authorized by Congress; subsidies were offered by every state as well as numerous foreign powers, and Philadelphia was selected as the site. Charles Edmund Pugh, general agent for the Pennsylvania Railroad in Philadelphia, took charge of transporting the millions who were to visit the city during the six months of the celebration. A man of literary tastes, he seems to have proposed a "promenade" of notable poets as a special entertainment for the Exposition. He turned for help to James T. Fields, one of the most respected publishers of the day and the friend of countless authors. Two letters of Fields, acquired by the Library, and hitherto apparently unpublished, relate to the scheme. On December 15, 1875, he wrote from Boston:

My dear Pugh,

Longfellow is going to Phila. in May 1876. This is certain if he is well. Now if I were you I would let matters rest until after New Years. Every one now is full of that coming festival & L. is more than full of N. Y. affairs, having a large family to think out presents for. I don't quite like, the more I think of it, your plan of getting the big boys of Poetry together in a *promenade*. If you could get *Bryant* to read "Thanatopsis" in May, and R. H. Dana Jr. author of "Two Years before the Mast" to follow on the same night with a lecture on "The Naval Heroes of America," or any topic he might choose, and have Longfellow, Holmes, Whittier, and Lowell on the platform with those two men, it would be the biggest thing you could devise, next to the Miracle Plays! The affair would have to come off while Longfellow is in Phila. in May. Dana is a fine speaker and a great friend of Bryants. I could manage *Dana* for you, but Bryant would have to be approached cautiously by such a man as Evarts or Bancroft. At any rate, think it over. Dana would have to be manipulated by a handsome tender of Cash, for he is a busy advocate

and full of employment in the Courts. He is not a miser, but he has a large family to support. "Two Years before the Mast" is a book that has made him known the world over & he is a glorious fellow beside. He is one of our great cards always.

Cordially yours,

Four days later Fields wrote again saying that Longfellow would not consent to play a leading part in the program :

I have waited to see whether Longfellow would not agree to be the Centennial Poet, but now it is all settled & he cannot do it, he says. This decision will alter your plan somewhat I think. I have been so much occupied since I got back from Phila. that I have not seen very clearly how to move in your matter as to getting the poets together. Holmes, Longfellow & Whittier are old fellows now and not easily moved. I am to dine with them all on Saturday & then I will enter a wedge, and see what effect comes of it. Depend upon it I will do all in my power to further your plans.

As it turned out, Whittier produced a Centennial Hymn in six stanzas, with music by John Knowles Paine, which was sung at the opening ceremony on May 10, 1876. On July 2, the anniversary of the Resolution for Independence, a Congress of Authors was held. Each one presented the biography of a well-known revolutionary figure. R. H. Dana, Jr. gave that of Francis Dana, the diplomat and jurist. None of Fields's "old fellows" took part, nor is there any mention of either Bryant or Lowell. The promenade, of "the big boys of poetry" evidently never came off.

THERESA COOLIDGE

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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JULY 1953

Winsor's History of America

By JOSEPH A. BOROME

IN 1880-1881 *The Memorial History of Boston*, a coöperative enterprise of four volumes edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard, came from the press. Designed to appeal to a wide reading public and employ the writing services of specialists, it reflected two significant developments in the American historical scene: a mounting popular interest in American history, and the rise of "scientific" history.

The increasing popularity of history stemmed from the close of the Civil War when some of the participants and partisans of both sides rushed into print to relate their versions of its causes and progress. Others, avoiding the passions aroused by the war, sought to examine the foundations of the Union, investigating its origins and tracing its development from the formation of the Constitution to its preservation under Lincoln. The centennial anniversaries of 1875-1876 also turned the thoughts of many persons to their past. All the while new patriotic associations contributed their share to the awakening enthusiasm for American history, as did the state and local societies. The pens of John Fiske, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Edward Eggleston, and others were kept busy in an effort to meet the demand for works on American history.

When *The Memorial History* appeared, a perceptible transformation in the writing and teaching of history was manifest-

ing itself. Since the middle of the century several factors, notably "that complex of ideas labelled Darwinism," the consequent expansion and growth of the social sciences, and the principles of German methodology, had come to bear upon history. The works of Darwin, Buckle, Spencer, and Comte had given a new impulse to historical study by stimulating investigations into the laws governing historical development. In 1869 Charles Kendall Adams had introduced the German seminar method at the University of Michigan; two years later Henry Adams had initiated it at Harvard; and in 1876 Herbert Baxter Adams had inaugurated it at Johns Hopkins University. The seminars promoted ideas concerning the subject matter of history and the principles of accuracy, thoroughness, and objectivity; consideration for the social and economic background of history; emphasis on the wide use of documentary sources, and caution in statement.

History began to assume an independent position among the social studies; the influence exerted by the narrative and romantic historians, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, began to wane; and serious writers, confronted with ever increasing collections of sources and hesitating to undertake comprehensive histories, found comfort in monographs. Specialization became the order of the day and a flood of doctoral dissertations also began to issue from the seminars as chairs were founded and German-trained scholars were called to the teaching profession.

The Memorial History furnished an excellent example of the changing historiographical currents of the early eighteenthies. In its attention to "antiquarianism and anecdotage" and the enlisting of writers with literary finesse, it was calculated to appeal to popular tastes, and indeed, demonstrated its link with what was passing away. In its specialized coöperative scheme, its abundant citations of source material and occasional bibliographical notes, and its consideration of social and economic developments, it reflected the newer trends of the time.

Winsor had long been convinced that students of history would derive distinct advantages from a periodic grouping of the sources of information and the use which writers had made of them. He had learned the importance of the monograph for "rounding the treatment of any phase of history, in a way rare-

ly accomplished in more comprehensive work." Were monographers and specialists in historical research brought together in one work, the result, he thought, would be "the elucidation of the broader aspects of American history."¹

The success of the first volume of *The Memorial History* had put the publishers in a receptive mood, and towards the end of 1880, while the second volume^d was in press, Winsor proposed to the publisher, J. R. Osgood, a series of monographs on a similar plan under the title *The Critical History of America*. The idea was favorably received. By January 5, 1881, he had drawn up an outline which Osgood found "read well" and had suggested to the publisher that the support of the Massachusetts Historical Society be requested.² A few copies of the outline were printed and on January 13, at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, George E. Ellis called attention to it, remarking that Jared Sparks had had a project of like character under consideration during the last year of his life.³ The members heartily approved Winsor's project, and, in accordance with his wishes for a group of advisors, voted that Robert C. Winthrop, the President; Ellis, the Vice-President; Charles Deane, the Corresponding Secretary; Francis Parkman; and Henry Torrey, Professor of History at Harvard, be appointed as a Committee of Conference. The following day the *Boston Daily Advertiser* carried an announcement of the design of the work.

In eight volumes of some six hundred pages each, the history of the American continent (the United States, Canada, and Latin America) was to be surveyed from pre-Columbian times to the middle of the nineteenth century. The chapters were to be written by specialists "who have already acquired reputation in the several departments." Each chapter was to consist of two parts: the first, an historical narrative, summary in character, would serve primarily "as a text" for the second part, a critical essay on the sources. The scope of the latter was thus outlined by the editor:

It will describe the original sources of the preceding narrative, — manuscripts, monuments, archaeological remains, — with accounts of their discovery, their transmission to later times, their vicissitudes, as well as the places, libraries, museums, &c., where they are to be found or are preserved. The character and lives of those who

have discovered, gathered, and made use of them for historical results; the writers, contemporary, early and late, who have become authorities on the several subjects, with their opportunities and fitness for the study of them; their relation to the knowledge of the subject; societies formed for the furthering of these studies, — all these will be thoroughly treated. Finally, a critical statement of existing knowledge and of the conditions, favorable or unfavorable, to further advance in our knowledge, will close the essay.⁴

All imaginative pictures like those printed in William Cullen Bryant's and Sydney Howard Gay's *Popular History of the United States* would be avoided, the illustrations being confined to such materials as "portraits, old houses, or other relics of antiquarian interest, maps, documents and autographs in facsimile &c.," for Winsor believed that there was

a necessary sympathy between the graphic illustrations belonging to a period under observation and the progress of its events; and that a certain wrong is done to the critical sense if other pictorial associations are established.⁵

The main purpose of the entire undertaking, he emphasized, was to set forth a bibliographical and critical record of all the sources of the history of the Americas.

Reaction to the public announcement of the work was well exemplified in a letter which Thomas Wentworth Higginson sent Winsor on January 16, 1881:

The grandeur of your projects takes one's breath away; but, really, the Critical History seems to me a great conception; if you can only have strength & leisure to carry it through. It must rest largely upon you.

My greatest fear about it will be lest in the very amplitude of the plan the literary element should be so subordinated as to make the book unreadable & a mere quarry for scholars. Even in that point of view, however, it will be invaluable; but for immediate usefulness there is needed a certain proportion of what Edmund Quincy used to call "specific levity" . . .⁶

Higginson also communicated with Ellis, who, he hoped, would use every influence to give the history due literary form. "Our friend Winsor is such a wonderful encyclopedia of details," wrote he, "that I fear the work may be arranged in a sea of references and authorities, & so remain utterly unread."⁷

Higginson's fear occurred also to others, and the publishers

shortly began to press for modifications of the scheme to make the work more palatable to the public. Before long the title was changed to the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and the publisher's releases stated that the narrative part would group the salient points of the several subjects "in a way to interest the general reader."⁸ It was decided to lead with Volume III dealing with English discoveries and settlements — possibly because specialists on this subject were more easily available; certainly because the first volume, relating to pre-Columbian times, was to be deferred that it might embody the latest results of archeological study and investigation. The publication date was set as "late in 1882."

II

WINSOR turned to the task of obtaining the assistance of the most qualified writers. He sent copies of the publisher's circulars to friends and colleagues, calling upon them for suggestions. To George H. Moore, Librarian of the Lenox Library, he wrote:

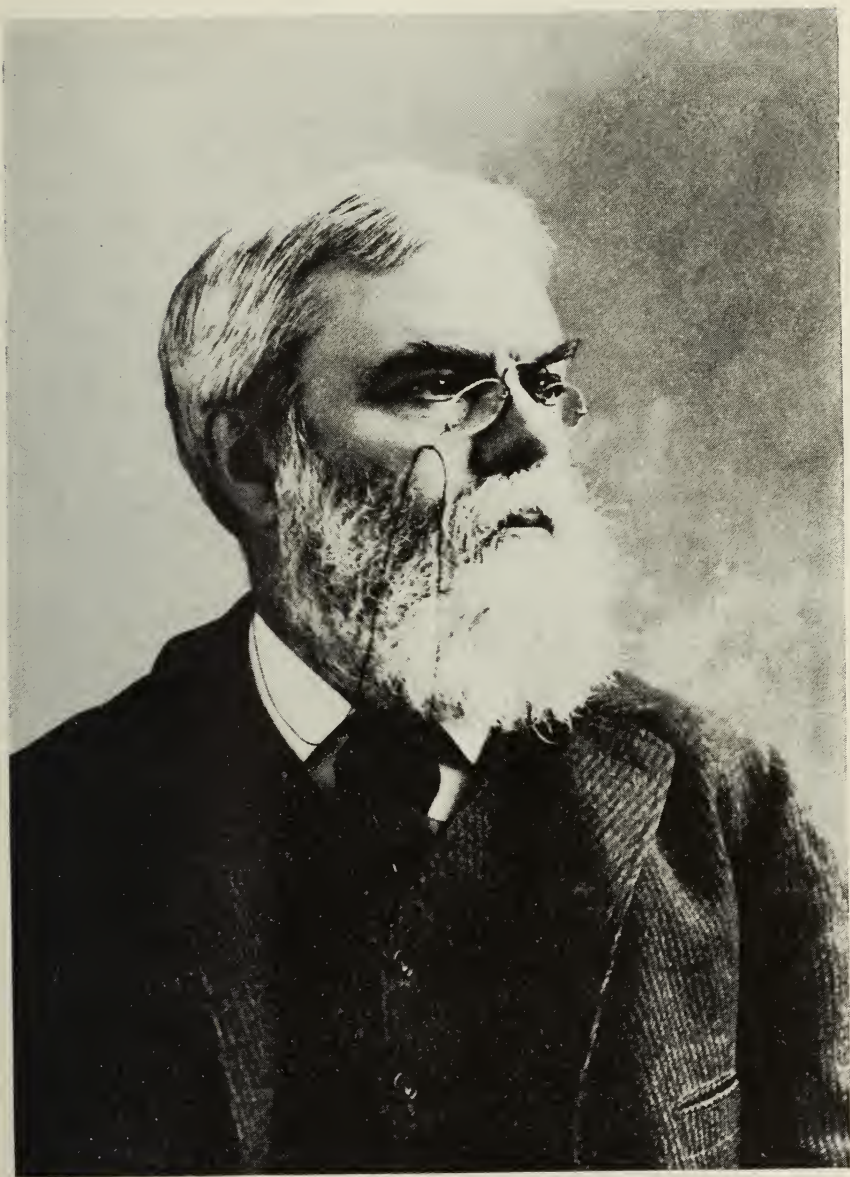
I have given you a good time to muse on my 2^d circular (Mar 7, 81) of the *Hist. of America*, which I sent to you 3 or 4 weeks ago, — that is, if you find it worth while to muse at all. I want your advice about the assignment of some of the chapters. Cant you give us something? Who would do which best? Please look the scheme over and let me know. I think of Brevoort, Murphy, and some others, say De Costa, but you know best. Give me of your abundance of information.⁹

In April 1881 Winsor was elected Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Through the Society, affiliations were sought with fourteen of the principal historical, antiquarian, and archeological societies in America and abroad, which were asked to suggest qualified contributors. Several noted scholars declined offers: J. Carson Brevoort, because of the state of his eyes, Richard H. Major, for reasons of health, and Joaquín García Icazbalceta, who "was too busy with his [Mexican] Bibliography."¹⁰ Henry Cabot Lodge agreed to write a monograph on the New England colonies from 1689 to 1763, but, when he received a copy of the circular and saw

the type of work expected, he withdrew, as the task would take an entire year and he did not have the time.¹¹ Nevertheless, the final list of collaborators was a distinguished one, including the names of Clements R. Markham, George Ticknor Curtis, Charles Deane, John Jay, James B. Angell, John Gilmary Shea, George E. Ellis, Sydney Howard Gay, Charles C. Jones, Jr., William F. Poole, Nathaniel S. Shaler, Edward Everett Hale, Edward D. Neill, Mellen Chamberlain, Alexander Johnston, and William Wirt Henry. The roster revealed that historical writing still lay largely in the hands, not of trained historians, but of lawyers, businessmen, clergymen, and antiquarians. Of the thirty-nine contributors, only two were university teachers of history — Edward Channing of Harvard and Franklin B. Dexter of Yale. All were Americans save Markham, the English authority on colonial Spanish America, and George Bryce and George Stewart, Jr., both Canadians.

Even before he got *The Memorial History* off his hands, therefore, Winsor was deep in the preparation of the *Narrative and Critical History*; and for more than eight years it was to engage his attention, while he continued to administer the Harvard Library and maintain a steady output of historical and bibliographical work. The editorial principles that had succeeded so well in the Boston history were to be adhered to again. All the writers were to be left free to express their views, since one of the chief objects of the work was "to reflect the opinions of those most entitled to be heard, — and these may often be at variance."¹² The editor would also maintain a "hands off" policy in matters of Old and New Style of dating and the spelling of proper names. His prime responsibility would be to unify the contributions "in regard to spirit and general scope," and supplement them by notes.

Winsor had difficulties with the new group of writers. Of broken pledges and disappointments there was no end. Chapters were accepted and abandoned or never submitted, necessitating a last minute rearrangement of material, the elimination of chapters, or emergency writing by the editor himself. In several instances the critical parts were quite thin and he had to cover the ground in an essay of his own. Some of his experiences with Volume VII were representative:



Photograph of Justin Winsor, Taken About 1890

... [Curtis's] critical part was wholly insufficient and I wrote it. Johnston was, owing to ill health, so late in coming in, that at his request I wrote his Critical essay. The "Territorial bounds" was so long delayed by Channing that I wrote it myself, and sent it to the printer; but finding he had depended on the pay, I paid him, what I recd and attached his name to mine, though I took nothing but a single paragraph from his MS which was very scant. J. C. Bancroft Davis accepted the Diplomatic ch. but finally threw it up. I had to do a great deal to the Crit. essay of Soley, and to add the Indian war matter . . .¹³

Little wonder that in the end Winsor composed one-half of the entire work himself. Of some 4,840 pages in the eight volumes, he wrote (in large and fine print) some 2,040.

When the sections of the volume in the hands of different writers paralleled and overlapped each other, the editor found himself quite "at a loss to manage treatment of each without knowing what [was] the method of the others," and was compelled to send out dictatorial notes demanding copy.¹⁴ Chapters were subjected to vigorous revision. He deleted repetitious passages; saved space by eliminating phrases and even entire sentences; relegated parts of the text to footnotes and vice versa; and corrected grammar and bibliographical details. Where he found occasion to question statements or interpretations, he wrote out his queries and criticisms on slips of paper which he pasted along the margins of the manuscript. Where his own opinion differed from the writer's, he placed it, in the published work, as an editorial note in the main body of the chapter or as an annotation in the mass of bibliographical details at the end.¹⁵ Although he had to extend a few chapters considerably, more often he had to reduce them. Ellis's chapter on the Loyalists dwindled before the eyes of the hapless writer, his copy being cut down to one-third and the galleys being further slashed.¹⁶

Opportunities for the exercise of patience were not wanting. It is not difficult to imagine the feelings of the editor when, having informed Berthold Fernow that one of his chapters did not quite suit, he was told that there was no use crying over spilt milk¹⁷; or when, after having sent three letters and a telegram to Dr. John G. Shea, historian of the Catholic Church in America, asking for the return of proofs, he received a testy reply:

My dear Sir:

On receiving the proof sheets, two notes on the margin so provoked me that I tossed them into a corner, and have been since then so busy, and so little inclined to touch them, that they have lain there undisturbed.

I do not know who your private demoniac A.W.S. [A.W. Stevens, the proofreader, had suggested the word "priest" instead of "clergyman"] may be, but for him or any one to tell a Catholic that he has no right to use the word clergy or clergyman in speaking of the priests of his Church is so insolent, and withal displays such stupendous ignorance that I intend to make the note the subject of an article. Henry and his daughter deprived Catholics of their churches, demolished the Catholic altars, sacked and razed monasteries and convents, they passed penal laws prohibiting Catholics from doing a great many things, but they were not such demoniacs as to deny them the right to use their own language.

From the time the English language took form the Catholic priest was called a Clerk. Chaucer's Clerk's Tale is a ready proof of that. Priests belonging neither to a monastic nor to a mendicant order, but living in community, like Jesuits, Passionists &c have from the earliest time been called Regular Clerks.

After the Reformation when the Established Church set up its claims to Apostolic succession, it refused to recognize the ministers of the dissenting Protestants as duly ordained. It refused to recognize them as clergy.

But as its own claim rested on the consecration of new Bishops by some of the Catholic bishops, they could not impeach their orders. It would be like a man trying to establish his own legitimacy and beginning by denial of his mother's marriage.

The Established Church never did and does not now deny the validity of Catholic orders. It recognizes the Catholic priest as a clergyman. A priest conforming to the Establishment is never re-ordained; on taking the oath and subscribing the articles, he is eligible to any living. Till the recent act removing disabilities no one ordained as a Catholic priest could be returned to Parliament, though a Dissenting minister could.

So far as English usage goes, the Catholic priest is and always has been a clergyman and taken together they are the Catholic clergy, and the term, with the division into parochial, secular, regular clergy, appears constantly.

It amazes me most, however, to find anyone in Boston, making the narrow Pharisaical English rule, even narrower here, and claiming the words Clergy and Clergymen as the express and sole property of the Episcopalians.

Usage has been to apply to Catholics and their clergy every term of opprobrium and insult, in order to degrade them in the

eyes of the people; but that usage never made it just or right or Christian. It was demoniac, and can form no rule for a Catholic.

Yours truly

John Gilmary Shea¹⁸

The proofs arrived the following day!

To speed the printing of the eight volumes, it had been decided to follow the plan adopted for *The Memorial History*. Instead of waiting until all the chapters of a volume had been received, those which came to hand were stereotyped, and made to have an even number of pages. They were then set aside until all the articles for the volume had been assembled, at which time the pagination was inserted on the plates and the book sent through the press.¹⁹

Between January 1882 and January 1883 Osgood decided to prepare two editions of the history: an "edition de luxe" on large paper and a "common" edition. Efforts were to be made to obtain subscriptions from "the highest dignitaries & most famous historians in the land" for the first, and then the general public would be asked to buy the second.²⁰ By November 1883, progress had been made in printing both Volume III and IV. As Winsor wrote Herbert Baxter Adams:

... I had hoped you would have had our earliest volume before this. It is four months since the plates were done. There has been some delay about printing the signatures with fine woodcuts, in calendering the paper, which proved a failure and new paper is making for those signatures, — all other sheets are printed. The next volume is nearly off my hands, only a few more pages to cast and the index to make.²¹

The publisher's canvass did not begin that fall, as had been hoped, and the third volume did not appear. Winsor protested the delay. Still by September 1884 no volume of the *Narrative and Critical History* had been published, although the third and fourth volumes had been printed, the second was going through the press, and two others were in progress.²²

III

NOT until January 1885 did Osgood's active efforts for the *Narrative and Critical History* get under way, with Clarence F.

Jewett as director. An intimate friend of Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite, Jewett frequently visited his house, and while there he obtained letters of commendation for the history from all but one of the Supreme Court Justices.²³ By this time Winsor was pessimistic about the situation. Several contributors, some of whom had submitted their articles three years before, were anxious for remuneration. The publishers had agreed to pay upon the issue of each volume, but as yet not one had made its appearance. Winsor passed the complaints on to Benjamin H. Ticknor, Osgood's editor, who, a little vexed, replied:

I don't see why the authors should be recalcitrant. They know the work is going on, & we might decide to issue the whole set at once. Would they then refuse to write? If their copy had not been used, it would be different, but they know it is in type & have had proofs.²⁴

All appeared to have been forgiven when, towards the end of March, the publishers sent each contributor a copy of the deluxe edition of Volumes III and IV, and payment began. But trouble was not over. Little more than a month later Osgood informed Winsor:

Doubtless you will be sorry to learn, that we have been compelled to succumb to the pressure of the times and suspend payment. We have made so many and so heavy investments on which we cannot immediately realize, that this step is necessary, although we have made every honorable & practicable effort to avert it.²⁵

Hope of the firm's ability to complete the *Narrative History* was faint, and Osgood suggested to Winsor that he ask other publishers whether they would take over the work on reasonable terms.²⁶ With three volumes ready for the subscribers, publication was halted.²⁷

Needless to say Winsor was deluged by communications from the contributors expressing concern over their long-due payments. He and Osgood made overtures to several publishing houses, including Little, Brown and Harper, without success.²⁸ Nevertheless towards the end of May Winsor induced Houghton, Mifflin and Company to consider favorably the issuing of the work. He then proposed to Benjamin H. Ticknor, head of Ticknor and Company (successors to the Osgood firm), that he be allowed to purchase the rights to the *History*, in

order to cancel the firm's indebtedness to himself and the contributors.²⁹ For four months he awaited Ticknor's decision. Finally in September, fearing lest Houghton, Mifflin close the door to negotiations, he began to call "for an expression of the obligations, understood and to be acted on." "After two years of procrastination," he declared, "I am entitled to know definitely, whether a proposition made four months ago, and which cannot much longer remain open, is to be acceded to"; and he expressed the hope that he and his associates would soon "be satisfied in an equitable way."³⁰

The following month the clouds lifted. By October 15 Winsor had purchased the "right, title, and interest" in, and the properties pertaining to, the *History* from the Ticknor company, and sold them to Houghton, Mifflin and Company. To the relief of scholars, contributors, subscribers, and of course the editor, the *Narrative and Critical History* was to be pushed to completion.³¹ The contract between the new publishers and Winsor was signed on October 27.³²

Almost immediately the firm undertook to pay the more than \$3,000 due the contributors to the second, third, and fourth volumes, and the over \$5,000 due Winsor for editorial work and contributions from his own pen.³³ The terms of the previous contract with Osgood were repeated. Winsor was to undertake the editorship, obtain the official endorsement and coöperation of historical societies, give careful attention to the preparation of all the manuscripts, superintend the proofreading, and prepare indexes. Illustrations were to be chosen by him in consultation with Houghton, Mifflin and Company, the latter deciding upon their manner of reproduction. Winsor was to receive \$1,000 a volume, payable thirty days after publication, and a royalty of twelve and a half cents per volume after the first 2,000, this royalty to continue for one year after the publication of the final volume.³⁴ Publication was to begin no later than January 1886, and to proceed at the rate of one volume every six months, the final volume being released in July 1889. Despite disappointments from two contributors which forced him to write complete chapters at the last moment, Winsor adhered closely to the schedule. The publishers matched his endeavors with promptness.

On March 19, 1886, Winsor sent Volumes II, III, and IV to President Eliot.

I beg you to accept the three volumes already printed of the Hist. of America. If I had remained at the Boston Public Library, amid the constant stress of care for its complicated affairs, which never left me night or day, I could hardly have accomplished the extent, whatever may be the merit, of this work. It is then owing in large measure to you that it comes to light.³⁵

Volume V appeared in 1887; Volumes VI and VII in 1888. That year Winsor asked Eliot's permission to place the following letter of dedication in the forthcoming first volume:

Dear Eliot:

Forty years ago, you and I, having made preparation together, entered college on the same day. We later found different spheres in the world; and you came back to Cambridge in due time to assume your high office. Twelve years ago, sought by you, I likewise came, to discharge a duty under you.

You took me away from many cares, and transferred me to the more congenial service of the University. The change has conduced to the progress of those studies in which I hardly remember to have had a lack of interest.

So I owe much to you; and it is not, I trust, surprising that I desire to connect, in this work, your name with that of your

Obliged friend,³⁶

This public testimonial from his friend and fellow classmate pleased President Eliot, who answered:

I shall be proud to have this letter at the beginning of the first volume of your great work. Your coming to Cambridge was a great gain for the University. I am glad that it has also proved advantageous to American letters, and conducive to your own happiness.³⁷

Volumes I and VIII were published in 1889.³⁸

After almost nine years of ceaseless exertions and manifold disappointments, Winsor had brought the work to a successful completion. As published, the volumes bore the following titles:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Volume I | Aboriginal America |
| Volume II | Spanish Explorations and Settlements in America from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century |
| Volume III | English Explorations and Settlements in North America 1497-1689 |

- Volume IV French Explorations and Settlements in North America and those of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Swedes, 1500-1700
- Volume V The English and French in North America, 1689-1763
- Volume VI The United States of North America, Part I
- Volume VII The United States of North America, Part II
- Volume VIII The Later History of British, Spanish, and Portuguese America

IV

THE *Narrative and Critical History* won wide acclaim. The *Revue Historique* pronounced it the most important contribution to American historical science that had yet appeared; the *Saturday Review* labelled it "a noble monument of American erudition"; and John A. Doyle, writing in the *English Historical Review*, judged it "beyond all praise" as a dictionary of American history in which information was to be found sifted and arranged with clearness and method.³⁹ American reviewers were impressively laudatory in newspapers and such periodicals as the *Dial*, *Nation*, *Independent*, *Literary World*, *Bookbuyer*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Magazine of American History*. On every side there were tributes to the scholarship and bibliographical knowledge of the editor.

Still, many serious students and some critics pointed out certain faults and deficiencies: narratives too compressed to allow completeness of treatment, a profusion of unreadable styles, and no discernable central theme.⁴⁰ It was thought that the parcelling out of the narratives was ill-balanced, considering that forty-five pages had been granted for a chapter on all the New England colonies — a subject requiring more extensive coverage — and a similar number for a chapter on New Sweden. In addition, while a few of the chapters — such as those of Alexander Johnston on political parties, Clements R. Markham on the civilization of the Incas, Franklin B. Dexter on the Pilgrims, William J. Rivers on the colonial Carolinas, Benjamin De Costa on Norumbega, William Brantly on colonial Maryland, C. C. Smith on the Arctic explorations, and Mellen Chamberlain on the coming of the American Revolution — were considered lucid accounts of their subjects, the majority

were judged "for the most part unreadable."⁴¹ Of Edward D. Neill's chapter, "Discovery along the Great Lakes," the reviewer in the *Nation* lamented: "A more uncomfortable piece of narrative, or one more suggestive of trackless forests and rugged portages, we have not lately met."⁴² Almost to a man, the reviewers took the editor to task for his style, with its "extraordinary clumsiness"; and the critic of the *Saturday Review*, stating that it was "positively painful to read his essays," cited as a sample of Winsor's awkward, obscure, and ungrammatical composition his sentence: "The other expression was a general popular aversion to the new Society of the Cincinnati, turned largely against that hereditary principle of membership which was finally discarded."⁴⁴

Unfavorable comment arose because the critical essays were longer than the historical narratives, because too much attention was given to the North American colonial and revolutionary periods and not enough to the period 1789-1850, and because the Civil War was not included. Winsor's prime purpose had been to fashion a work that would "elucidate" the material of critical importance; and he had designed it with an eye to the amount of material available in 1880, and its organization for thorough bibliographical and critical treatment.

When the *Narrative History* was planned, an abundant literature on the period from the formation of the Republic to the Civil War was still to be created. Historians had expended most of their time and research upon the age of discovery and exploration — "the great subject," John Carter Brown called it — and to a lesser extent both upon the local military and antiquarian details of the colonial and revolutionary periods, and upon the individual biographies of the Founding Fathers.⁴⁴ In these fields a body of literature had been formed. The year 1880, however, was hardly an opportune time for setting forth a critical bibliography of the period after 1789. Indeed, there were in that year only two large-scale histories of the country that pushed beyond the end of the Revolution: Hildreth's, which closed with 1821, and von Holst's Constitutional History, which had reached the eighteen-forties. To be sure, in 1880 James Schouler brought out his first volume treating of the Washington and Adams administration; but, by the time the final volume of the *Narrative History* was published, he had just arrived at the Polk administration. Moreover, not until 1883 and 1885 did John B. McMaster issue the first two volumes

of his *History of the People of the United States*, and these only brought the story into the presidency of Jefferson.⁴⁵

Winsor deliberately ruled out the period after 1850, because he felt it was too early for historians to be objective in dealing with the Civil War, and again, because the literature was scanty.⁴⁶ When he drafted his *History* the Government had just opened the War Office records to scholars, and publication of the War of the Rebellion army records was just getting under way. Nor had such volumes as Grant's *Memoirs* been written. Numerous battalion histories had been published, many of them of little value.

To criticism that he had given too much space to maps and cartographical information Winsor replied that early maps were an important source of original material which historians had neglected, and that he "believed that the field of historical geography was more intimately connected with that of history in general than had usually been recognized."⁴⁷ To right the balance he had distributed facsimiles and sketches of maps and charts with a liberal hand throughout the work, supplementing them with frequent discussions of cartography.

Regrets that economic and social considerations had been neglected were never publicly met by Winsor. But to Herbert Baxter Adams he confided:

What you call educational, social & economic phases were only incidentally mentioned, & would have swelled this later period [1789-1850], had they been systematically treated. I left them out purposely as intending at some future day to add 2 or 3 more volumes of special essays to the work, covering such topics from the beginning. The book was big enough without them for a first go-off. I did this special essay business in my *Boston*.

My plan included a treatment of slavery, piracy and witchcraft, as inheritances from the Mother Country, and early in progress this section was assigned to Abner C. Goodell; but I got only promises after promises from him — illness really interfered — and finally I saved space for it as an appendix to my last volume; but there was no prospect of using it there without postponing the completion of the work indefinitely, and so I was reluctantly compelled to leave it out altogether. I would have made the references to these subjects much fuller throughout the work had I not expected to have this essay.⁴⁸

A large part of the unfavorable comment was directed not so much against the eight volumes as against the coöperative

and monographic method of historical composition. And not a little of this comment might have been avoided. Unfortunately the publishers released a prospectus which asserted, among other extravagant claims, that the *Narrative and Critical History* was "history by a new method," and that once "the superiority of the coöperative method is fully understood, the individual historian, if he ventures forth at all, will be read for entertainment rather than profit."⁴⁹ These statements did not represent the views of Winsor, whose purpose had been "to add a distinctly critical treatment" to the joint-authority plan of the Boston volumes, and "not to offer it as a model for the general writing of history, based on a coöperative and critical method." (There was "no substitute for the individuality of an historian," he declared.)⁵⁰ In the final volume he appended a statement in which he controverted the views expressed in the prospectus, but this escaped the eye of many critics. When, in 1891, J. Franklin Jameson brought out his *History of Historical Writing in America* and quoted from the *Narrative History* prospectus and not from Winsor's final statement, the latter wrote to Mellen Chamberlain:

I have just read Jameson's book on history writing in America, & I find it very reasonable, though I wish he had been more circumspect in what he says in the sequel of his very pleasant account of our history. He quotes a paragraph from the prospectus of that book, causing the reader's natural inference that the prospectus represents my views. That prospectus was prepared by the publisher and I knew nothing of it till the mischief had been done by the circulation of it. I tried to put myself right in the Final Statement, which I printed in vol. VIII — which takes a position just the reverse of the prospectus and Jameson overlooks it, and lets me stand as uttering opinions which I had done my utmost to disclaim. He ought to have been more careful. About all the disagreeable comment on the History has taken that prospectus for a text. You cant expect careful circumspection in the periodical writers but we have a right to expect it in such a book as Jameson has made.⁵¹

V

REVIEWERS of the *Narrative History* were loudest in their praise of the critical essays on primary and secondary sources and of the copious bibliographical notes — which Winsor re-

garded as the important features of the work. It was certainly a happy circumstance that he should have been situated in a library that contained such admirable collections as the Sparks manuscripts and the Americana (both books and maps) of the Ebeling and Warden libraries. Yet it was an even more happy fact that he had a mass of information assembled through years of systematic note-taking and an ability to arrange the mass for use; that he held a leading position in a well-connected historical society, and that, as a complement, he had a thorough acquaintance with the libraries and librarians of the country.

The importance of Winsor's *History* can hardly be exaggerated. When it appeared many libraries were still closed to students save on influential recommendation; and the bibliographical data of American history lay scattered in libraries and archives, as no individual attempt had been made to classify and analyze them. No important public or private collection of the rarest manuscripts or books was, it seems, closed either to Winsor or, on his word, to the contributors. Through his editorial exertions the "secrets" hidden in the collections of historical societies, in manuscript archives, and in private libraries were brought to light — in a day when no separate division of manuscripts existed in any institution in the United States; when manuscripts in most libraries and historical societies "slumbered in their original forms" and when important collections like those of Samuel L. M. Barlow, J. Carson Brevoort, and Charles Deane, still lay in private hands.⁵² When the work appeared, solid reference tools — such as the American Historical Association annual guide to historical literature, the published indexes to manuscript collections of important libraries, the Channing and Hart *Guide to the Study of American History*, and Larned's *Guide to the Literature of American History* — did not exist in substance or counterpart. In 1882 Charles K. Adams had brought out his *Manual of Historical Literature*, but it was too brief to be of great value.⁵³

With the *Narrative History* at hand the student of history, who had had to grope his way toward his bibliography, now had a treasure chest from which he might select his materials — although, to be sure, the arrangement of the bibliographical notes was "not always such as to facilitate their use" and the indexes to the massive eight volumes were inadequate.⁵⁴ Because "no book, tract, pamphlet, broadside, playbill or caricature" appears to have escaped the editor's net, he had for con-

sultation valuable facsimile portraits, autographs, views, maps, and texts from old volumes.⁵⁵ The student could observe, too, what subjects historians had labored upon and what aspects and periods needed investigation. He also had an opportunity to see that historical events might be variously interpreted, for in the *Narrative History* not a few views were conflicting, revisory, or new. Thus, John A. Stevens, writing on New York under the English, presented an unusually favorable estimate of Governor Andros, while in the very next chapter on the Jerseys William A. Whitehead offered one rather different. Robert A. Brock refused to accept the John Smith-Pocahontas story; George Dexter restored the voyages of Verrazano to the place from which they had been driven by Henry C. Murphy; and Neill, despite the views of the French historian Pierre Margry, asserted that Joliet, not La Salle, had discovered the upper Mississippi — all subjects then much in dispute. Some new viewpoints made their appearance in Shaler's "Physiography of North America" and in Chamberlain's "The Revolution Impending." Stimulated by Buckle's thesis concerning the effect of climate, soil, and food upon humanity, Shaler outlined the influence which geography had had upon immigrants from Europe and upon the course of colonization, both English and French. And Chamberlain offered students brought up on George Bancroft's patriotic volumes a more balanced treatment of the causes leading to the Revolutionary War. He saw fit to stress, not so much the personal culpability of the English ministers, the tyranny of a wicked George III and crushing Navigation Acts, but rather British efforts to reorganize their colonial policy after 1763. Indeed, in his somewhat Whiggish interpretation, he questioned whether the Navigation Acts might be considered a real cause of the conflict.⁵⁶

The years of the projection and publication of the *Narrative History* were a time of growing interest in American subjects and new methods of treating them. There came in rapid order the establishment of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University for advanced instruction and research in 1880; the appearance, two years later, of the first numbers of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*; and thereafter the organization of the American Historical Association and its annual meetings and publications; the issuing of the *Wharton School Annals of Political Science* by the University of Pennsylvania; and the founding of the *Political*

Science Quarterly at Columbia. In this unfolding scene Winsor's noble coöperative history of America took an honored position.

Notes

1. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* III:v; VIII: 509. Cited hereafter as Winsor, *Narrative History*.

2. J. R. Osgood to Winsor, January 5, 1881; Winsor *Narrative and Critical History* Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Unless otherwise cited, all letters hereafter referred to are in the Winsor *Narrative and Critical History* Papers.

3. While J. C. Derby was connected with D. Appleton Co., George Bancroft was "almost persuaded" to undertake a similar work starting with the closing date of his *History of the United States* and coming down to the Lincoln administration (J. C. Derby to Winsor, March 11, 1886).

4. "Circular No. 1."

5. Winsor, *Narrative History* VIII:509; Winsor to R. A. Brock, December 26, 1881; Brock Papers, Huntington Library.

6. Winsor Family Papers, in the possession of his granddaughter, Miss Penelope B. Noyes.

7. T. W. Higginson to G. Ellis, January 31, 1881; Ellis Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

8. "Circular No. 2."

9. Winsor to Moore, April 4, 1881; Lenox Library Correspondence, New York Public Library.

10. Winsor, *Memorandum*, August 9, 1889. Icazbalceta read the chapter Winsor wrote on ancient Mexican civilization in galley.

11. H. C. Lodge to Winsor, December 7, 1883; February 4, 1884. John Fiske, it would appear, was not asked to contribute. Mellen Chamberlain suggested James Schouler for the chapter on the history of political parties, but Winsor preferred the riper talents of Alexander Johnston (Chamberlain to Winsor, June 21, 1886).

12. Winsor, *Narrative History* III:vi.

13. Winsor, *Memorandum*, August 9, 1889.

14. Winsor to E. D. Neill, March 24, 1883; Neill Papers, Minnesota Historical Society; Winsor to F. D. Stone, April 29, 1887; Winsor Papers, Harvard University Library.

15. These facts are drawn from the manuscript chapter of M. Chamberlain, "The Revolution Impending," Boston Public Library; E. Channing, "Justin Winsor," *American Historical Review* 3:199.

16. Winsor to M. Chamberlain, March 30, 1887; Chamberlain Papers, Boston Public Library.

17. B. Fernow to Winsor, June 17, 1886.

18. J. G. Shea to Winsor, December 22, 1884.

19. Winsor to R. A. Brock, December 26, 1881; Brock Papers, HL.

20. J. R. Osgood to Winsor, January 2, 1882; B. H. Ticknor to Winsor, March 18, 1884; Winsor, *Memorandum*, January 20, 1883.
21. Winsor to H. B. Adams, November 21, 1883; Adams Papers, Johns Hopkins University Library.
22. B. H. Ticknor to Winsor, March 18, 1884; American Historical Association, *Papers* 1:33-34. Cited hereafter as *AHAP*.
23. C. K. Bolton, "Clarence Frederick Jewett" (unpublished MS, Boston Athenaeum); B. H. Ticknor to Winsor, January 20, January 22, 1885.
24. Ticknor to Winsor, March 22, 1885.
25. Osgood to Winsor, May 2, 1885.
26. Osgood to Winsor, May 5, 1885.
27. [Boston] *Beacon*, August 15, 1885.
28. G. E. Ellis to Winsor, May 5, 1885; J. R. Bartlett to Winsor, May 12, 1885; Osgood to Winsor, June 11, 1885.
29. Winsor, *Memorandum*, August 9, 1889.
30. Winsor to Ticknor & Co., September 3, 1885; copy in Winsor Family Papers.
31. F. Parkman to Winsor, October 15, 1885; G. E. Ellis to Winsor, October 15, 1885; Winsor to R. A. Brock, October 16, 1885; Brock Papers, HL.
32. By the terms of the agreement Houghton, Mifflin received the copyright on the *History* in America and England; the electrotpe plates of Volumes II, III, and IV; almost 550 copies of the de luxe edition of the same volumes; all negatives, heliotypes, electrotypes, relief-plates and woodcuts; all prospectuses, testimonials, materials for canvassing the work, and all subscription lists.
33. Actually the contract, in the Winsor Family Papers, stated that \$3,589 was due the contributors and \$5,014 was due Winsor. The checks found their way to the contributors before the close of the month (G. E. Ellis to Winsor, October 31, 1885).
34. In September 1889 the publishers were so well pleased with Winsor's efforts that they asked for a copy of the contract and extended the royalty period for four additional years.
35. Winsor to C. W. Eliot, March 19, 1886; Eliot Papers. Harvard University Library.
36. Winsor, *Narrative History* I: [v].
37. C. W. Eliot to Winsor, October 17, 1888.
38. Winsor, *Memorandum*, October 5, 1889.
39. *Revue Historique* 43:137; *Saturday Review* 69:647; *English Historical Review* 2:806.
40. On September 21, 1886, Albion W. Tourgee wrote to H. H. Bancroft: "I tried to get an article into an eastern magazine on Coöperative Historical Work, comparing your system, which is homogeneous and comprehensive, with Justin Winsor's hotch-pot, every mouthful of which is a surprise, but which leaves no uniformity of impression or coherence of thought; but I found the idea was sacrilegious in this latitude." (Quoted in H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 767-768.)
41. *Athenaeum*, August 27, 1887, 276; *Dial* 8:237; *Magazine of American History* 20:429; *Nation* 43:311; *Saturday Review* 62:195; 64:596; 67:168-169, 677; 69:647.
42. *Nation* 44:393.

43. *Saturday Review* 64:596, 67:677; Winsor, *Narrative History* VII:219.
44. J. S. Bassett, "Later Historians," *Cambridge History of American Literature* II:183; J. F. Jameson, "The American Historical Review, 1895-1920," *American Historical Review* 26:1.
45. The first large-scale history that did not begin with 1789 or earlier was to come from James Ford Rhodes, who would choose 1850 as the starting point and whose volumes would not appear until 1892.
46. *AHAP* 2:80. The only mention of the Civil War appeared in the last line of Curtis's chapter on the Constitution.
47. Winsor, *Narrative History* VIII:509.
48. Winsor to H. B. Adams, January 21, 1892; Adams Papers, JHUL.
49. H. H. Bancroft, *Literary Industries*, 764-765, gives a substantial portion of the prospectus.
50. Winsor, *Narrative History* VIII:509.
51. Winsor to M. Chamberlain, September 21, 1891; Chamberlain Papers, BPL.
52. *Dial* 8:237; W. C. Ford, "A Division of Manuscripts," in W. W. Bishop, ed., *Herbert Putnam: Essays*, 156; E. Goldman, *John Bach McMaster* gives a description of that historian's struggles to use the resources of libraries (33-36).

It took Winsor more than three years to collect the material for his chapter "The Manuscript Sources of the History of the United States of America, with Particular Reference to the American Revolution," as nothing like it had ever been attempted. Personal knowledge and correspondence yielded a great deal; and almost until the last moment of publication he was circulating galley proofs and getting "much new material." (Winsor, *Memorandum*, August 9, 1889.)

53. Larned, *The Literature of American History*, 21.
54. W. MacDonald, "Some Bibliographical Desiderata in American History," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s. 21:268.
55. *Dial* 6:318, 8:237. The *Narrative History* was priced at \$5.50 a volume.
56. English critics praised the judicious tone of Chamberlain's chapter and of others that dealt with the relations between the colonies and the mother country. The *Athenaeum* reviewer rejoiced that Bancroft, "always eager and ready to write unpleasant things about British rule," stood corrected on the subject of the removal of the Arcadians. (*Athenaeum*, June 9, 1888, 726.)

In Canada cries were raised that George Stewart, Jr. had purloined his chapter on Frontenac from the works of Parkman, an ugly rumor that was laid to rest when Stewart published a letter from Parkman stating that he had read the chapter and saw no evidence of plagiarism in it. (*Summerside Journal*, January 10, 1889.)

John Day and Elizabethan Drama

By SAMUEL SCHOENBAUM

OF all the dramatists of the Elizabethan age, John Day has been perhaps the most neglected. Treated rather poorly by his contemporaries, he has fared even worse in the judgment of posterity. In his earlier career one of Henslowe's industrious and impoverished hacks, in later life "becalmde in a fogg of necessity,"¹ he labored much and received little reward. In later times his name has been almost entirely forgotten. Lamb, it is true, was charmed by *The Parliament of Bees*, but Day's works were not collected and printed until 1881, when A. H. Bullen published what has become the scarcest of his editions of the Elizabethan dramatists. But the edition did not succeed in resurrecting the playwright's reputation; for Bullen damned him with faint praise and obscured his delicate fancy and graceful verse with an archaic typography. The Mermaid volume which contains two of Day's works does not bear the author's name in its title; it is called, simply, *Nero and Other Plays*. Swinburne regretted even that Day had devoted himself to the stage and wasted his gifts "on work too hard and high for him,"² and Ronald Bayne, writing in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, felt that "the drama was not his natural vein."³ In our own day Boas does not mention him in his *Introduction to Stuart Drama*, and his name does not appear in Parrott and Ball's *Short View of Elizabethan Drama*. No new edition of his works has yet been issued, although one has been promised. But John Day is a playwright and poet whose work deserves the recognition of the modern reader.

The Boston Public Library has a number of early editions of Day's works, including first editions of *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* (1607) and of *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green* (1659), and second editions of *The Ile of Guls* and *Humour out of Breath*. It also owns a copy of Bullen's edition, with which is bound an autograph letter from the editor to the Library.

DAY began his dramatic career working for the large pub-

lic houses, collaborating with Henslowe's other writers on a large number of plays, revealing by their very multiplicity the whole gamut of Elizabethan dramatic taste. In most instances the titles alone remain, but they often afford a sufficient clue to the contents. Thus we find Day working with William Haughton on *The Tragedy of Merry and Cox of Collumpton*, and, some time later, with Samuel Rowley on *The Bristol Tragedy* — all three probably homiletic tragedies, murder plays in the tradition of *Arden of Feversham*. Again collaborating with Haughton, he produced *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp*, a folk play. *The Italian Tragedy*, which he wrote with Wentworth Smith, may have been one of the revenge tragedies so popular at the turn of the century, while *Six Yeomen of the West*, written with the assistance of Haughton, was perhaps a chronicle in the manner of Heywood. With Henry Chettle he refurbished a successful history play, *The Conquest of Brute with the First Finding of the Bath*. He turned to classical myth and legend in *The Golden Ass and Cupid and Psyche*, Dekker and Chettle assisting. *Merry as May Be*, composed with the help of Hathway and Smith, was possibly a rustic comedy similar in its appeal to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The surviving plays also indicate an exceptional diversity: topical drama in *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* and folk comedy in *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green*, both for public houses; satirical comedy in *Law-Trickes* and a combination of romance with satire in *The Ile of Guls*, written for the private theaters which preferred railing and intrigue to history and moral lessons. Day was a journeyman dramatist, who turned out plays to order — whether they be tragedy, satire, history, comedy, or romance. His career shows how the professional dramatist adapts himself to the demands of his age and his audience, for he wrote very differently for the private theaters than he did for the public. Of necessity he was a hack with little opportunity to develop his own manner, unable except sporadically to indulge his natural vein of fragile fancy and light wit.

Of the twenty-two plays which Philip Henslowe lists Day as collaborating on between 1598 and 1603, the only one that survives is *The Blind-Beggar of Bednal-Green* (1600). It must have proved quite popular, for a sequel soon followed, and *The 3 pte*

of *Thome Strowd* appeared within a year. This early success has not been repeated with later critics, who tend to regard the play with condescension or disdain.⁴ Certainly the *Blind-Beggar* has faults. Nothing comes of the bitter rivalry between Gloucester and the Cardinal for Eleanor's hand, nor of old Plainsey's love for the lady. The pathetic plight of Kate, Sir Robert Westford's daughter, forced by a cruel father to marry a man she does not love, is introduced at the beginning of the play and casually dismissed. One learns later that she grieves and, finally, that she has died, but the information is conveyed in the most off-hand way. Kate could have been a touching and significant figure; her disappearance after the second act can be attributed only to haste and carelessness. The only real character in the play is Tom Strowd. In the hands of Jonson he would have been a mere country bumpkin, an easy dupe for the wily London sharpers. But if Young Strowd is foolish, he has nevertheless the honesty and courage of a folk-hero. Asked by King Henry to choose his weapons for the trial by combat in the final scene, he replies bluntly: "Weapon me no weapons; I can play at wasters as well as another man, but all's one for that: give me but an ashen Gibbet in my hand, and I do not drybang them both I'll be bound to eat hay with a horse, so will I."⁵ And, although "two to one is oddes," he goes on to cudgel both his antagonists. "A lusty fellow!" King Henry cries with admiration. The crowds at the Fortune must have loved Strowd. *The Blind-Beggar* makes no pretensions to artistic distinction; but there is, as Swinburne perceives, "some good simple fun . . . in this homely and humble old play."⁶

One other play which Day undertook for the public theater has come down to us: *The Travailes of the Three English Brothers* (1607), written with the assistance of George Wilkins and William Rowley. This romanticized account of the exploits of the three Sherley brothers, with its treachery and romance, low comedy and pageantry, is a typical Elizabethan medley, providing the spectators with a dramatization of almost contemporaneous events. There is no characterization worth speaking of; the English brothers are properly virtuous and valiant, the Turks cruel, the Sophy's niece beautiful, and the Jew vicious. The truth of course was different; the Sherley

THE TRAVAILES

Of

The three ENGLISH Brothers.

Sir THOMAS
Sir ANTHONY } SHIRLEY.
Mr. ROBERT }

As it is now play'd by her
MAIESTIES Seruants.



Printed at London for *John Wright*, and are to bee sold at
his shoppe neere Christ-Church gate.
1607.

*Title-Page of First Edition of John Day's Play
From the Barton Collection of the Library*

brothers were not as the facile popular fancy imagined them. Sir Thomas was an ignoble and unsuccessful buccaneer; the scheming Sir Anthony, along with the youngest brother, Robert, sought not primarily to advance the fortunes of Christendom in the strongholds of paganism but rather to further his own financial projects. Zariph's prototype appears in Anthony Nixon's pamphlet, the dramatists' source, as a benevolent figure, but here he becomes the familiar Elizabethan cunning Jewish merchant — a gross and absurdly exaggerated burlesque of Shylock. Yet he remains the most vigorous figure in the play. The *Travailes* is workaday popular drama, unoriginal in conception and careless in execution, not the worst that the age produced but in no way distinguished.

THE remainder of Day's surviving plays was written independently for the boys' companies, for the King's Revels and the Queen's Revels, and acted at the fashionable private theaters, the Blackfriars and the Whitefriars. They differ significantly from the pieces commissioned by the public houses. A dramatist must satisfy his audience, and the sophisticated patrons at Blackfriars enjoyed satire, Senecan bombast, and licentious intrigue. A new group of dramatists — Jonson, Marston, and Middleton among them — directed their talents toward the gratification of these tastes. Playwrights in the older tradition either continued to write in the same vein for the public theaters, or altered their style and matter to suit the children's companies. And so we find the genial creator of Simon Eyre and Bellafront, Thomas Dekker, who always saw the heart of gold beneath the rough exterior, collaborating with Webster on *Westward Hoe* and *Northward Hoe*, laying bare for the delectation of a fashionable audience the scabrous intrigues of citizens' wives. In the same fashion Day, abandoning goodhumored comedies and moralistic tragedies, tries his hand at satirical comedy.

The Ile of Guls (1606) is probably his first piece in the new manner. "But why doth he call his play *The Ile of Gulls*?" asks the First Gallant in the induction, "it begets much expectation." And indeed the title does suggest scurrilous associations,

recalling Nashe and Jonson's notorious *Isle of Dogs* which, almost a decade earlier, had provoked the indignation of the authorities, resulting in the imprisonment of Jonson along with two actors and a ban on theatrical activities for over two months. *The Ile of Guls* also created a stir. "At this time," wrote Sir Edward Hoby not long after the performance, "was much speech of a play in the Black Friars, where, in the '*Isle of Gulls*,' from the highest to the lowest, all men's parts were acted of two divers nations; as I understand sundry were committed to Bridewell." ⁷ *Eastward Hoe*, performed the preceding autumn, had sneered at the Scots and James's newly created knights; and late in January the execution of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators added to the tension. Day, it is true, denies any personal satire, but one may suspect the author who makes a point of disavowing such an intention. As G. B. Harrison points out, Basilius, in his passion for the chase, may suggest James I, "whose neglect of State affairs whilst he hunted at Royston, was already a public scandal"; and Dametas may represent, as E. K. Chambers proposes, Sir Robert Carr (later the Earl of Somerset). ⁸

Easy and natural, yet sharply perceptive, the induction is perhaps the best thing in the work. In it Day analyzes with remarkable shrewdness the ingredients necessary to make a play successful with the courtiers: abuse ("and there be not Wormewood water and Copperes int Ile not like it"), bombast ("if it be not high written, both your Poet, and the house to, loose a friend of me"), and bawdry ("Giue me a sceane of venery that will make a man's spirrits stand on theyr typ-toes and die his bloode in a deepe scarlet"). Bayne regards the induction as indicative of Day's fear of failure; ⁹ perhaps, however, it reveals instead the artist's growing self-consciousness, an awareness, as yet incipient, that his craft is not base or ephemeral, but rather a means of literary expression — an awakening that was to result, with the Restoration, in the elaborate prefaces which precede Dryden's plays.

The comedy which follows blends satire with the artificial atmosphere of romance, and introduces also touches of homely realism. It contains some clever dialogue, as in the extended *double-entendre* of the tennis scene, and some fluent and pretty

verse, as in the Duke's soliloquy at the bower of Adonis. But the wit is intermittent and the poetic gleams are all too infrequent. The characterization is weak, and the satire pale and flat. The dramatist, now working for a company which demanded a product very different from the plays of the public houses, had not as yet fully found himself.

Law-Trickes (1607) was a step in the wrong direction; it is the most Marstonian of Day's works. Marston most frequently uses Italy as his setting — that Italy which in the Elizabethan imagination had become the seat of villainy and symbol of corruption. Day's scene, too, is Italy, and his world is also one of intrigue. But the motif of lust is muted and the acts of violence never reach their consummation.

Prince Polymetes, a devoted scholar, turns libertine soon after his father leaves in search of a lost daughter, and rejoices upon hearing a report of his death. Lurdo, the Prince's uncle, offers to help him to enjoy the beautiful young woman of whom he is enamoured. The villainous Count Horatio casts a lustful eye on Lurdo's wife; he succeeds in convincing the old man of her infidelity, hoping to seduce her after she is discarded and planning her murder when she refuses to submit. Lurdo, proud of his ability to manipulate the law to his own advantage, yet an easy dupe to the wiles of Horatio, shows the influence of Marston's old men. Horatio is a typical Machiavellian plotter — a type which never ceases to fascinate Marston. Polymetes, who has spent too much time with books and whose contact with a lovely young woman awakens him to the realization that there are pleasures other than learning, suggests the troubled Malheureux in *The Dutch Courtesan*. But Day handles Polymetes in a less somber manner; however, the sudden transformation of the dreaming student into the wild gallant is, as has been suggested, somewhat unaccountable.¹⁰ That the beautiful girl happens to be his sister in disguise suggests an incest motif, but Day avoids developing it. Emilia is the happiest achievement in the play. She is the playwright's first fully developed approach to the high-spirited, saucy, and beautiful young woman whom he was to present with more delicacy in the charming Florimell of *Humour out of Breath*.

Scattered through the comedy are attacks on legal abuses.

The satirical hits are concentrated in the character of the corrupt advocate Lurdo, who has attained wealth and prestige through the abuse of the law. But the satirical passages are often tiresome, lacking in sting. *Law-Trickes*, unfortunately, tends to be insipid. The unfolding of events is easier to follow than in *The Ile of Guls*, but there is nothing quite so brilliant as the tennis scene in the earlier play, and there are no extended lyrical passages.

ONLY in *Humour out of Breath* (1608) of the pieces written for the stage, does Day's slender but precious gift find full expression. The dedication "To Signior No-body" suggests the continued influence of Marston, who presented his first original work, *Antonio and Mellida*, to the reading public with affected nonchalance, dedicating "the worthlesse present of my slighter idlenes" to "the most honorably renowned no-body."¹¹ Certain situations in *Humour out of Breath* also indicate Marston's play as a possible source.¹² But there resemblance ends. Day's comedy is original; it stands out among the products of the Jacobean age as one of the most sunshiny comedies of the period. Certainly the performance of such a play before the frivolous and jaded audience which patronized the Children of the King's Revels must have been something of a phenomenon. It comes closer to *As You Like It* than anything else in Jacobean drama; the pastoral setting, the banished Duke, the carefree lovers, the joyous spirit and bright repartee — all remind one of Shakespeare's earlier work. The master's influence is pervasive; even the title may derive from Shakespeare — "Fie now," says Antipholus of Ephesus to Angelo in *The Comedy of Errors*, "you run this humour out of breath."¹³ The writing is easier and more fluent than in Day's other pieces, and the action, slight as it is, is free from the loose ends and unnecessary complications that mar much of the earlier work.

Here as elsewhere Day pays scant attention to characterization. But Aspero, courageous and proud, deeply enamoured yet ill-at-ease and occasionally baffled in wooing, has some individuality. And Florimell is Day's finest creation. Vain and volatile, yet softly feminine, she loves Aspero when first she

sees him, then repels his awkward advances, and longs for him as soon as he is gone. Courtship is a game of elaborate pretense, and Florimell obeys the rules — that is, until her lover tricks her into a revelation of her feelings. The hard brilliance of her talk contrasts with the essential gentleness of her nature. She is one of the most appealing heroines in Jacobean comedy.

There are, too, some lyrical passages of genuine beauty, as Florimell's speech on the charms of music:

I thinke my lorde, that musick is diuine,
Whose sacred straines haue power to combine
The soule and body; and it reason beares,
For it is said that the celestiaall spheres
Dance to *Apolloes* lyre, whose sprightly fires
Haue tamd rude beasts, and charmd mens wild desires:
The author was immortall; the first strings
Made by a king, therefore an art for kings.¹⁴

Surely Swinburne errs in describing *Humour out of Breath* as "Marston and water"; nothing could be more alien in spirit to the products of the tormented imagination of the author of *Antonio's Revenge* and *The Malcontent*. Day's debt, insofar as the spirit and dramatic type are concerned, is to the early Shakespeare, and the style of the prose may even owe something to Lyly. Day's art does not, as has been suggested, look forward to the ordered brilliance of Restoration comedy.¹⁵ It is rather a return to an earlier mode. If the play seems occasionally naive, we must remember that, like Lyly's comedies, it was acted by children, and ideally suited to a boys' company. Perhaps it is unfortunate that Day succeeded best at a type of art which a much greater and more versatile genius had mastered and abandoned. Critics, at any rate, have made invidious comparisons. *Humour out of Breath* does not, of course, equal *As You Like It*. But judged on its own merits it is very good indeed, a minor but almost perfect work of art.

DAY'S last poetical work, *The Parliament of Bees*,¹⁶ is a series of dialogues in the tradition of the fourth *Georgic* of Virgil and the verse satires of Marston and Hall, Guilpon and Donne. It is entirely in rhymed verse, and contains Day's best poetry. For the author could now indulge his exquisite lyric

gift freely in rhyme, which better suited his talents than the blank verse demanded by the stage. And so those lovely passages, which at times look backward to the tradition of Marlowe and on other occasions seem to anticipate the pastorals of a succeeding age, are here to be found in profusion. Seemingly effortless, the verse in *The Parliament of Bees* required tireless revision, as a comparison of the transcript with the quarto demonstrates. It is a strange kind of poetry, apart from the main stream of Jacobean verse, lacking completely the Homeric similes of a Chapman, and with none of the metaphorical splendor of a Middleton. Its appeal depends not on imagery but on the connotative values of proper nouns — a Marlovian trait — and, especially, on the musical cadences. The entire sixth colloquy, the poignant meeting of Arethusa and Ulania, is a gem of pastoral poetry; as is the eleventh interlude, the progress of Obron, which is filled with the magical effect of incantation. These two dialogues are perhaps the high points of the work, but the description of Arethusa's feigned funeral contains Day's most extravagant fancy, yet held in balance by the orderliness of his heroic couplets. But lyrical passages abound, for example the Plush Bee's description of his imagined great hall, where

. . . Over head
A roof of woods and Forrests Ile have spread;
Tree's growing downwards, full of Fallow-deare,
When of the sudaine, listning, you shall heare
A noise of Hornes and hunting, which shall bring
Acteon to *Diana* in the spring,
Where all shall see her naked skin, and there
Acteons hounds shall their owne Master teare,
As Embleme of his follie that will keepe
Hounds to devoure and eate him up asleepe.¹⁷

— lines which T. S. Eliot read and transformed in *The Waste-land*, lines which owe something to the influence of Marlowe's tradition, recalling Gaveston's vision of pleasure to come.

The characters themselves are less interesting, lightly satirical and rather conventional versions of such familiar types as the spendthrift and the quacksalver, the soldier and the reveller. But, if they lack novelty, the idea of disguising them as bees is surely original, and admirably suited to the poet's

purpose. For Day has no profound insight into the complexities of human behavior. His personages are often superficial, their problems petty, their emotions shallow. In *The Parliament of Bees* he recognizes his limitations, in fact uses them to advantage, making a fantastic and delightful conceit out of his tiny universe.

Day does not belong in the front rank of Shakespeare's contemporaries; his gifts are too limited, the lyric interludes too infrequent. His most characteristic works are naive little plays, abounding in word-play, romance, extravagance, and a curious combination of satire and good spirits. But the age of good spirits had passed. Perhaps Day alone among the Jacobean retains some of the joyous spirit of the comedy of the 1590's. He seems, however, out of touch with the dramatic currents of his age. Writing at a time when Jacobean tragedy was at its height, when dramatists probed with infinite skill the sufferings of tormented souls, he shows no tragic gift whatsoever and almost no grasp of character. Even his medium was against him. At a time when his fellow dramatists had achieved complete mastery of blank verse, his greatest talent lay in the decasyllabic couplet.

Yet his very isolation makes Day remarkable; he stands out against the main stream of Jacobean drama. His career affords also a striking illustration of an aspect of the dramatist's craft, namely, that a playwright creates for an audience, the demands of which determine to a marked degree what he produces. But John Day is more than a literary curiosity; he is a poet. Living in an age of song, he too possessed the ability to compose delightful harmonies with words, a gift rare in our time, and one to be valued highly wherever it is found.

Notes

1. "Peregrinato Scholastica," a prose tract written by Day in his declining years; in the *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1881), p. 38.

2. A. C. Swinburne, "John Day," in *The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne* (London, 1926), XII, 289.

3. Ronald Bayne, *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (New York, 1910), VI, 242.

4. F. E. Schelling finds the *Blind-Beggar* "not without a certain humble merit" (*Elizabethan Drama*, I, 281), but the "deplorable diffuseness and lack of animation" displease Bullen, who also regards the "uncouth antics" of Tom Strowd and Swash as "intolerable" (*op. cit.* p. 8).

5. P. 108. All page numbers in citations of passages from the plays refer to the Bullen text, in which each play is separately paged.

6. Swinburne, *op. cit.* p. 291.

7. Quoted in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), III, 286.

8. G. B. Harrison, ed., *The Ile of Gvls* (London, 1936), pp. vi-vii; Chambers, *loc. cit.*

9. Bayne, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

10. Bullen, *op. cit.*, introd., p. 21.

11. H. Harvey Wood, ed., *The Plays of John Marston* (Edinburgh, 1934), I, 2.

12. For an enumeration of possible parallels see M. E. Borish, "John Day's *Humor out of Breath*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVI, 9-11 (1934).

13. IV, i, 57.

14. I, i, 7.

15. Bayne, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

16. Swinburne attributes much of *The Parliament of Bees* to Dekker, on the basis of verse characteristics. Characters 2, 3, 7, 8, and 9 (they have numbers as well as names) do appear — with names altered but often verbatim — in *The Wonder of a Kingdom*, printed in 1636 as Dekker's; and two more (4 and 5) may be found in *The Noble Soldier* printed in 1634 with the initials "S.R." (Samuel Rowley?), but probably primarily Dekker's also. The exact relationship of Day and *The Parliament of Bees* to these two plays is difficult to determine. *The Wonder of a Kingdom* is very likely the same play as *Come See a Wonder*, licensed as Day's on September 18, 1623, and Day may very well have had a hand in *The Noble Soldier*. Chambers feels that "the scenes more obviously 'belong' to the *Bees* than to the plays, and if the *Bees* was written but not printed in 1608-16, the chances are that Day used it as a quarry of material when he was called upon to work, as revisor or collaborator, on the plays" (*op. cit.*, p. 288). Golding, in "The Parliament of Bees," *Review of English Studies*, III, 280-304 (July, 1927), proposes ca. 1633-1635 as a more likely date, and detects Dekker's hand in a number of the characters — yet acknowledges "that the best of these twelve scenes are those which are the product of Day's own native genius" (p. 304). Peery, in "The Noble Soldier" and "The Parliament of Bees," *Studies in Philology*, XLVIII, 219-233 (April, 1951) argues on the basis of stylistic evidence that "the version in *Bees* is earlier than that in *Soldier*, which is a free rendition of it in blank verse" (p. 233). Certainly there is no conclusive evidence to deprive Day of any of the lovelier passages in what is unquestionably his finest work.

17. Char. 3, 24.

A Fifteenth-Century German Evangelary

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

THE Library has recently acquired a German manuscript of the Passion intended for popular use rather than for a church or monastery. It is a finely preserved folio volume of 109 paper leaves, with more than three hundred illustrations and an impressive full-page picture. The book was written in the middle or latter half of the fifteenth century; the German script, two columns to a page, is in a strong, heavy hand, with rubrics at the heads of sections. Initial letters are painted red and green; a number enclose sketches of human faces. Words have occasionally been crossed out and rewritten; at the end of the narrative the scribe has replaced the "Amen" in black ink with one in red.

No compiler or scribe is named, but an epilogue of six leaves, addressed to a friend named Jos[eph], is signed by Johannes Braxatoris of Elwang[en], who may have been the illustrator. The expert arrangement of Gospel passages and the familiarity with Church Fathers and scholastics, as well as the translation from the Latin, suggest that the compiler received help from one of the monasteries of the city. This translation is forceful and simple. A noteworthy characteristic is the frequent use of *Minne* — a word associated with *Minnelied* (love song) rather than with the *caritas* of the Vulgate.

The narrative, which is based on all four Gospels, begins with the Sunday before Palm Sunday and ends with the Resurrection. It is interwoven with commentary and quotations. In his desire for systematic presentation, the compiler often resorted to enumeration. For example, there were four successive ways in which the enemies of Jesus plotted to kill him; for four reasons Christ defended Mary Magdalene's act of anointing him; fifteen "great things" took place in the house where the Last Supper was held; for seven reasons Christ bowed his head on the Cross. "Da ist ein frag" (there is a question) introduces many a passage of ingenious exposition; and significant points are emphasized with the exhortation "Merck" (note!).

The passages beginning with "O" suggest the "seven Os" or "fifteen Os" of the sorrows of Mary in the Books of Hours. The portions pertaining to Mary are of special significance since, in contrast to the fairly canonical representation of the rest, they are legendary. In medieval Germany the popular Marian literature took the form of the so-called *Marienklagen* (Laments of Mary); and the "Unser Frauen Klage" (Our Lady's Lament) of the thirteenth century was especially popular. Besides the lyrical expressions, there were the narrative *Marienleben* (Lives of Mary), which had their sources in the apocryphal Gospels. Most important among the latter is the *Protevangelium*, or Gospel of James the Minor, designed especially for the glorification of Mary. Although not accepted by the Roman Church in ancient times, from the sixth century on this gospel was used in medieval homilies. That it was taken seriously at the time when the Library's volume was made appears from the statement (on f.15r.): "As we read in the book of the life of our Lord, which was written by St. James the Minor, whom Scripture calls a brother of Christ . . ."

The manuscript includes comments from more than forty authorities. The prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah are each quoted at least nine times, the Psalms five times, and there are references to Joshua, Solomon, Ezekiel, Job, and the historian Josephus. The most frequently consulted authority is St. Augustine, and a close second is St. Jerome. Next comes St. John Chrysostom. (The manuscript consistently spells his name *Chrisostimus*, ignoring the Greek root *sto*, "mouth.") Other saints frequently quoted are St. Ambrose, Pope Gregory, and St. Bernard. Two great scholars of England are represented — the Venerable Bede and St. Anselm.

ONLY a brief survey and an occasional sampling of the text can be offered here, and unfortunately the persuasive simplicity of the German original cannot be preserved in translation. The first striking incident in the week before Palm Sunday is the awakening of Lazarus. It may be noted that the narrative follows the custom then prevalent in the Western church of fusing the three Marys — Mary of Magdala, from whom Jesus drove out

seven devils; the sinner who annointed his feet; and the sister of Lazarus. In all these rôles she is called Mary Magdalene.

The harmony of the four Gospels is supported by related passages from Scripture. Thus after telling of the Samaritans' refusal to take Jesus into their city, and quoting the parable about the foxes having their holes and the birds their nests and the Son of Man no place to lay his head, the narrator paraphrases the opening chapter of St. John: "So He is come into his own — that is, the present world which is his." After the relation of the miracle of sight restored to the two blind men, a hymn of three stanzas occurs, beginning

O savior of the world, naked and bare
How is thy faith and love so great . . .

In the course of a meditation on the four kinds of weeping one comes upon the first of the Marian passages that suggest an apocryphal source. David and Jonathan weeping are understood as symbols: "David is Christ and Jonathan is his poor mother Mary, who was of the lineage of Judah." Remembering the words of Simeon that a sword would pass through her soul, Mary says: "My son, thou knowest that I have never committed any sin . . . so grant my prayer by thy mildness and let me die before thee." Christ answers: "There is one reason for which I must not answer thy prayer. It would be improper if thou shouldst depart from this world so that I could not be in heaven when thou comest and go to meet thee with the whole heavenly choir and receive thee worthily." Among the reasons given for Christ's defence of the act of Mary Magdalene is one that harmonizes with the tone of the manuscript: "He also wanted to be annointed by the hands of a woman and not of a man." In connection with Jesus's escape from his persecutors, the writer tells a legend about a stone "which is called the leap of our Lord, as on it there appears his foot-print. The stone split open and hid Christ from the princes of the Jews."

The account of preparations for the Last Supper follows Mark and Luke, but there are additional details, for, besides the paschal lamb, the disciples are to provide "wild lettuce and unleavened bread, and for each a staff in his hand." Even at this climax of the Christian year, the narrator seems to adopt the point of view of Mary: "O what a wretched parting when

the mother had to leave her only son, who was to die such a bitter death, and when she could not obtain from him that she should eat the last supper with him in the flesh." After explaining the symbolism of the foot-washing according to St. Augustine, the writer remarks: "So priests and monks still wash one another's feet." Great significance is attached to the house in which the Last Supper was held; it was there that the Holy Ghost descended at Pentecost. The much disputed passage in Luke (XXII, 36-38) about buying a sword receives a symbolic, as well as a historical, explanation: "And therefore the two swords signify the two-fold power of Christianity — the first is the worldly or imperial sword; the second is the spiritual sword that the pope uses at Rome."

In the second part the manuscript explains the overthrow of Jesus's persecutors. They fell backward, for, as St. Gregory said: "Falling backwards signifies that they fell sinfully, for good people fall forward on their faces." The young man who fled, leaving his linen cloth, is identified with St. James the Minor and with St. John, according to Bede and to St. Jerome: "Also you should note the great poverty of the disciples of Christ, for this disciple had on nothing more than a shirt in this cold night."

The narrator describes torments with grim realism: "St. Bernard says that from the points of the crown Jesus received a thousand wounds, for it covered his head all over and extended down to his shoulders." And here is a rare reference to contemporary conditions: "As one can see in Paris, there the same crown is in the king's chapel; and as some say, it is carried annually on a beautiful mount round the city on the day after the day of the sacred cross in May."

The manuscript elucidates every aspect of the hours of the cross. Here again rapturous sympathy with the Virgin breaks all canonical bounds. Embracing the cross, she begs to be crucified with her son. At last Christ gives his mother into the care of John, saying: "Woman, behold thy son." St. Jerome is quoted as commiserating with her: "How unequal is this exchange that a poor fisherman's son was given thee for the son of God."

The descent into hell is a joyous chapter. "See now, dear reader," the writer exclaims, "how happy the holy Fathers are

at the sight of Jesus our Lord, and all care and longing are gone." They fall at his feet, and rise up and sing, and he leads them out of hell into paradise.

FIFTY-ONE of the illustrations are scenes from the text, fifty-six represent the Evangelists, and the rest are portraits. They are drawn in free, easy strokes, and brightly tinted with water-colors and gold crayon. The faces, though rather crudely daubed with red, are frequently expressive. There is a naive sincerity and spontaneity. The designs follow traditional patterns, and some of the motives may be seen in contemporary woodcuts. Such are the round table for the Last Supper and the crossing of lances over the head of Christ by the soldiers.

The first scene shows a small Lazarus wrapped in his shroud, his two sisters standing on one side and Jesus on the other. The next is the stoning of Christ, who stands in a doorway. The curing of the two blind men is especially effective. Both are kneeling on the green, flowered field; the suspense on the face of the one over whom Christ is holding three fingers is conveyed to a remarkable degree by means of simple lines. To the right are two disciples; to the left, gesticulating onlookers. A dainty little picture illustrates Mary Magdalene's anointing of Jesus's feet. The penitent with her long blonde hair is in the foreground, dipping her hand in a jar; Jesus sits at the left, and opposite him Judas holds up his hand disapprovingly, while two disciples and the host watch across the table. Lively small scenes show Christ overthrowing the table of the money-changers, forgiving the woman taken in adultery, and discoursing on the tribute to Caesar. In the representation of the Last Supper the head of St. John rests on the breast of Jesus, and the disciples are all nimbed, except Judas.

The strange picture of Christ carrying the cross shows him bearing the upper part on his shoulder, while Simon of Cyrene, appearing almost like a dwarf, holds the lower end in a sling tied round his neck. The full-page picture of the crucifixion is a fine composition. The two thieves are tied to their crosses, one flanked by an angel, the other by a devil. At the foot of the cross Mary is kneeling, clasping her arms round its base. In

the group below are St. John, one of the holy women, knights in medieval armor, and men with dice and swords. In the resurrection scene Christ is represented as standing, scarlet-robed, on the closed lid of the tomb.

The last picture, filling a half-page lengthwise, shows the prophet Ezekiel lying in a flowery meadow and gazing at a vision of the four Evangelists in their symbolic shapes. It belongs with the epilogue, which explains why the Evangelists were, with few exceptions, represented by their traditional symbols. Matthew is shown in human (or angelic) form because he recorded Christ's birth; Luke emphasized the sacrifice, which is symbolized by a calf or lamb; Mark proclaimed the reign of Christ, and is therefore a lion; and finally John, concerned with divinity and eternal wisdom, is symbolized by the highest flying creature, the eagle.

The more than two hundred portraits of the Church Fathers and other authorities offer a pleasing variety. St. Augustine always appears with the bishop's mitre and generally with the staff; he may be dressed in a red and green chasuble over the surplice or, like St. Bernard, in brown monastic garb. St. Ambrose and St. Chrysostom, too, appear in a bishop's garments. Pope Gregory wears the papal tiara. The most curious iconography is that of St. Jerome, who is always in the regalia of a cardinal, a custom followed since the thirteenth century. The accompanying lion is a symbol which links him with St. Mark. The non-canonized wise men like Bede, Rabanus, and Theophilus wear either a red turban or a cap. Bede is generally introduced with a scroll reading "Venerabilis Beda"; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other Old Testament figures have pointed caps, but David and Solomon wear crowns.

The manuscript is bound in the original boards, covered by brown calf with blind-tooled panels. It has the bookplate of James R. P. Lyell, the noted English collector.

Cliché-Verre

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

PERHAPS no group of artists has received wider acclaim than that of the Barbizon School. Important among the names associated with this movement were Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796-1875), Jean-François Millet (1815-1875), Pierre-Etienne-Theodore Rousseau, (1812-1867), Charles François Daubigny (1817-1878), and Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863). Those who followed the work of these artists created an interest and demand for their paintings, drawings, and prints which figured prominently in the art world.

Strangely enough, little was known of their experiments in the medium of *cliché-verre* until attention was drawn to them by the publication of the portfolio by Maurice Le Garrec in Paris in 1921 *Quarante Clichés-Glace . . . tirés sur les plaques provenant de la collection de M. Cuvelier*. This new technique had been in progress for several years by the Barbizon artists before it met with favor between the years 1855-60.

In May 1853 Corot was visiting at Arras, and while there he worked with his friends M. Grandguillaume and M. Cuvelier, who at the time were experimenting with photography. It was during this visit that he met Constant Dutilleux, the lithographer, who, incidentally, was the father-in-law of M. Robaut, the prominent collector and cataloger of Corot's work. At a meeting of the four friends the idea of drawing on a photographic plate was suggested, and Corot was asked to experiment with the process. The first result was most gratifying, and the now well-known cliché "Bûcheron de Rembrandt" produced an incentive to explore the field further by initiating the talents of Millet, Rousseau, Daubigny, and Delacroix to the possibilities of this newly-discovered technique. Grandguillaume made several prints from this first negative, and on one of the proofs Dutilleux inscribed, "C. Corot, 1^{er} essai de dessin sur verre pour photographie, Mai, 1853."

To understand better the process of *cliché-verre* as it was developed in the artistic manner, a few words of explanation may

be helpful. It was apparent from the beginning that this new medium offered unusual freedom to the artist for the drawing on the glass was direct; and it offered the same liberty of execution as would a spontaneous sketch on paper or canvas. It can be readily understood that only a mature artist could be capable of achieving an artistic result, for a thorough knowledge of draughtsmanship, color value, and a fine talent were necessary requirements.

A film of printer's or etching ink was laid on a glass plate with a roller, such as used by an etcher or engraver when printing from a copper plate. A very thin coating of white lead was then powdered on this ground to enable the artist to see the progress of his work. During the drawing the plate was placed on a black or dark background, so that when drawn upon with various sized needles or pointed instruments the lines appeared in a dark value against the light background. Values were developed by massing the lines close together in the darker areas and further apart in the middle tones and lighter portions. The thickness of the lines played an important part in accenting and enriching the composition wherever needed. The lines themselves, whether thick or thin, were all of the same intensity since they had no depth as in etching. Lines were supplemented with stippling and grained effects produced by sandpaper or other abrasive paper of various texture by placing the rough side on the face of the plate and rubbing the reverse side with a burnisher or spoon.

In printing, the plate after it was sufficiently dry was placed face down on sensitized photographic paper and exposed to light for the required length of time. The print was then developed in the usual photographic manner. When the drawn area came in direct contact with the sensitized paper, the lines were sharp and vibrant, and the image would be in reverse. However, if a softer effect was desired, the drawn area was placed face up, with the thickness of the glass between the image and the printing paper. This method produced a diffused and perhaps a more colorful effect. In this instance the composition would be in the same direction as the original drawing.

Another type of *cliché-verre* gave the quality of tonal values and did not depend on the lines alone. This was more in the



Corot's "Le Grand Cavalier sous Bois," a Cliché-Verre

monotype manner, for the artist painted on the glass in an opaque oil color. The glass plate was placed on a black ground as before, so that gradations of tone could be obtained by using slightly transparent pigment or wiping away areas with a rag, paper stump, or finger. The effect of the painting was often strengthened by construction lines, giving form where required with a pointed stick of wood, often a brush handle.

Corot was the most active of the group in the use of *cliché-verre* as a creative medium, having produced, in all, sixty-six prints, of which there were only five in the monotype or painting manner. Perhaps his prolific achievement can be attributed to his plates being prepared and printed by others. It is a known fact that the technical part of etching and lithography never interested him.

Corot's first plate, "Bûcheron de Rembrandt," is considered one of his best achievements in this new technique. This is not surprising when one considers that an artist, when he attempts a new medium, generally produces a fresh and spontaneous result, for in the process he had nothing to lose and everything to gain. Later efforts are usually calculated and self-conscious. Until there has been sufficient practice to offset the newness of a method, this condition persists. Among the first group of plates containing fifty-two subjects, one follows the development of Corot's technique and style, which is quite varied, departing from the pure use of line by the introduction of stippling and sandpaper graining.

There is a second group of fourteen plates, attributed to the years 1871-1884; and it would seem that, because of the lapse of eleven years between these two groups, Corot worked on *cliché-verre* only during those infrequent periods when visiting with his friends at Arras. In studying these later plates it is interesting to note that Corot reverted to the simple style of his early experiments with the line alone. A few of these studies show a familiarity with the medium displaying a greater simplicity and purity of design. The earlier prints, in contrast, are overcrowded with detail, with little relief by white areas to support the half-tone and darker portions of the composition. Among the smaller subjects one finds excellent examples in "Souvenir du Bas-Bréau," "La Ronde Gauloise," and "La Jeune Fille et

La Mort," the last of which is particularly powerful in broad line work. These subjects are interesting for variety and diversity of handling, depicting vistas of low country through wind-swept forests. Of the larger and more pretentious works "Les Jardins d'Horace" and "Jeune Mère à l'Entrée d'un Bois," rendered in line, grain, and stipple, exhibit qualities that remind one of Corot's etchings which are subtly interpreted with all the artistry of his great talent. They reveal a direct approach, with no necessary effort that might weaken the first impression of idea or motive. The freedom in the handling of the lines seemingly produces tones of mysterious light and an atmosphere of poetry and solitude.

Millet's two plates "La Précaution Maternelle" and "Femme Vidant un Seau" give us the same homely scenes in the same characteristic way as his etchings. However, the *cliché-verre* held limitations for his technique, which is very much like that of his etching needle. These two prints, which might be called masterpieces in this medium, lacked the variety of values in the lines giving the drawing a drier and colorless appearance. The figures possess the same sculptural quality of modeling and all the profound meaning of peasant life, but the warmth which characterizes the artist's etchings is lacking, possibly due to the limitations which leave little liberty for interpretation in printing. On the other hand, these two subjects give us Millet's innermost thoughts and an understanding of his great humanity. Millet's reputation in *cliché-verre* rests entirely on these two prints.

Rousseau's production was limited to two plates also, "Le Cerisier de la Plante à Biau" and "La Plaine de la Plante à Biau," executed about 1855 when he was visiting at the home of his friend Cuvelier, at Arras. Unlike the plates of Corot and Millet, his efforts were self-conscious and not really successful artistically, in that they lacked color and could be regarded as carefully detailed studies or working drawings. Delacroix drew only one composition, "Tigre en arrêt." Although the plate contains some fine work, there are evidences that the medium was foreign to him. The lines are cold when compared to the warm strokes of his lithographs.

Daubigny did six line-plates and two in the oil color method.

The warm values of the two latter subjects, although reminiscent of Corot, are accomplished artistic achievements. One of these proofs, "Vaches à l'Abreuvoir," was included in the Le Garrec publication. Of the other, there seems to be only one impression and that is unknown to the cataloger. Other fine examples are "Ruisseau dans la Clairière" and two large plates, "Rentrée du Troupeau" and "Gardeuse de Chèvres," an interesting pair of *cliché-verre* in the best manner. "Effet de Nuit" should be especially mentioned as it gives a pleasing experiment in printing, for there are beautiful velvety qualities produced by placing a second piece of glass between the plate and the printing paper, which recalls the etchings in the dark manner of the early Dutch masters.

The exhibition will afford the visitors to the Print Gallery an opportunity to study another graphic art medium. Although this technique was practiced sparingly over a short period, the soundness of the artists who did the research and experimenting carried the possibilities of the *cliché-verre* to a logical and successful conclusion. They have proven that, given the proper artistic equipment, the potentialities of the medium are great and not yet exhausted.

Notes on Rare Books

Yeats's Early Reading of *Walden*

OCCASIONAL recognition has been accorded the remark of William Butler Yeats that in his youth he was introduced by his father to the writings of Henry Thoreau; yet the implications of Yeats's statement have never been explored. Henry Seidel Canby, in a summary of Thoreau's general influence, points out that John Butler Yeats read portions of *Walden* to his son, and so inspired him "to seek his island paradise of Innisfree"; and A. Norman Jeffares, Yeats's recent biographer, makes a similar observation. However, Thoreau's appeal for Yeats may have been far more considerable than has been hitherto suspected.

It is rather singular that John Butler Yeats, the pre-Raphaelite artist, should have known of *Walden* at all during his son's youth. The poet was born in 1865, three years after Thoreau's death, while the first English printing of the work did not appear until 1884. By then the young Yeats would have been nineteen and old enough to do his own reading; if his father had read *Walden* to him, therefore, the reading must have been done from a copy of the first edition, 1854, or from the first American reprinting of 1864, and neither of these editions had been large. Even in America, before 1875 *Walden* had not achieved a wide distribution. But it is one of the interesting facts about Thoreau's ideas that they have taken root unexpectedly in foreign soil — in India, in Russia, and in the British Isles. The study which would show how and why Thoreau had a relatively large English audience has not been made.¹

John Butler Yeats's interest in Thoreau's ideas was nominal; though "Thoreau writes like an immortal," he once wrote to a correspondent, "he had nothing great to say." No Irishman, moreover, could fail to be nettled by the American writer's jibes at the Irish who had helped to build the Fitchburg Railroad and had settled down near Concord. "The culture of an Irishman," Thoreau wrote

1. The names of several other nineteenth-century English writers who found Thoreau appealing come to mind; John Davidson ("Thoreau" in *In a Music Hall and Other Poems*, London, 1891); Katharine Tynan ("Thoreau at Walden," in *Louise de la Vallière and Other Poems*, London, 1885; and of course H. S. Salt, who published, in 1890, the best Thoreau biography of the century. Four printings of *Walden* were made in Great Britain from 1884 to 1888.

of John Field, "is an enterprise to be undertaken with a sort of moral bog hoe."² But it was Thoreau's example of ascetic living, more than his superb style, which seems to have intrigued young William Butler Yeats, and to have persisted with him even when he had ceased to entertain his romantic impulse to withdraw to a cottage on the island of Innisfree.³ As a young man Yeats was tossed about feverishly by two desires, one of which drove him to the world without and the other to solitude. He was so depressed by "the great weight of stone" in London that on one occasion he comforted himself by envisioning John the Baptist returning to persuade the people of the city to "go out into some empty wilderness leaving their buildings empty."⁴

Yeats's early inclination toward asceticism may have been buttressed by an influence nearer home. His Uncle, George Pollexfen, was the confidant of his boyish "freaks and reveries," lending sympathetic encouragement to his love for natural things. Pollexfen "had learnt two cries of the lapwing, one that drew them to where he stood and one that made them fly away"; and he was pleased, Yeats records, "when I said to him, echoing some book I had read, that one never knew a countryside until one knew it at night."⁵

The poem "Innisfree," Yeats recollected, owes its composition to the strain engendered in him by Thoreau!

Sometimes [he wrote] I planned out a lonely austerity, and at other times mixed the ideals and planned a life of lonely austerity mitigated by periodical lapses. I still had the ambition, formed in Sligo in my teens, of living in imitation of Thoreau on Innisfree, a little island in Lough Gill, and when walking through Fleet Street very homesick I heard a little tinkle of water and saw a fountain in a shop-window which balanced a little ball upon its jet, and began to remember lake water. From the sudden remembrance came my poem *Innisfree*, my first lyric with anything in its rhythm of my own music.⁶

Before this the poet had never been able to free himself from "that emotion of the crowd which rhetoric brings"; but now he

2. *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, Riverside Edition (Boston, 1892-1894), II, 321.

3. Yeats could hardly have been inappreciative, however, of Thoreau's style. "Words alone are certain good," he remarked, echoing Thoreau's observation in *Walden* that "a written word is the choicest of relics."

4. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (New York, 1947), 190.

5. *Reveries over Childhood and Youth* (New York, 1916), 83-84.

6. *Ibid.*, 189.

began "to loosen rhythm as an escape from rhetoric." His imagined withdrawal from society, he is saying in effect, enabled him to dissolve the tightness which had cramped his expression.

Internal evidence alone would lead one to suspect some relation between the poem and Thoreau's Walden experiment. Yeats proposed to build "a small cabin" with his own hands. "Nine bean-rows will I have there," he went on; and one recalls at once Thoreau's bean-field (somewhat larger than nine rows) which he found burdensome to hoe completely. Yeats's retreat differed from Thoreau's; but cricket and lake were included, and enough other touches to make one feel almost as if Yeats were writing as much with Walden Pond in mind as Lough Gill. The intent of the poets was the same. Both were "seeking wisdom."

Yeats's ascetic strain weakened as time passed; and in later years, according to one of his acquaintances, he came to hate his early poems — "Innisfree" most of all. A "tortured irritation" would come into his face when he read it. But the impulse to escape never left him completely. He had imbibed a measure of Thoreau's individualism and defiance of social restraint. "I was always planning some great gesture," he wrote in 1916, "putting the whole world into one scale of the balance and my soul into the other and imagining that the whole world somehow kicked the beam." Thoreau, however, carried his "great gestures" beyond the dream stage and out into life. "When a man stands up serenely against the condemnation and vengeance of mankind," he wrote of John Brown, "the spectacle is a sublime one."

WENDELL GLICK

Papermaking by Hand in America

FOR over forty years Dard Hunter has studied the ancient craft of papermaking throughout the world, experimented with the production of every kind of handmade paper, and written and printed with types of his own design a series of beautiful books on the subject. His most impressive work, the magnificent *Papermaking by Hand in America* — a copy of which has recently been acquired by the Boston Public Library — has just been completed after many years of effort; it is a fitting culmination to the work of a lifetime.

At nineteen, Dard Hunter had been a traveling magician's assistant, a newspaper illustrator, and a carpenter and wood-carver. Then, by chance, he came across a copy of a book printed by William Morris at the Kelmscott Press. He was fascinated by the volume, and decided that he must go to Europe, where such books were being made. In 1908, after his marriage, he left for England, and for the next five years studied printing and papermaking there and on the Continent, visiting many famous private presses. Soon he knew that above all he wanted to set up such a press in America. However, he was not satisfied with the mere printing of books, feeling, as he wrote later, that "simply purchasing type from a commercial typesetter and procuring paper from a paper mill left too many of the vital steps in the process of making books in the hands of purely mercenary and uninterested workmen . . . I decided that my work must be individual and personal, without any reliance upon outside help."

In 1913 he returned to America to establish, in Connecticut, the first mill for handmade paper to operate in this country since 1866. Two years later he issued his first book, printed on his own paper in handmade type. Although disappointed by the results, he persevered, and for the next thirty-five years divided his time between experiment at home and research in paper mills abroad, especially in China, Japan, India, and the South Seas, where the earliest paper was made. Some of his discoveries were incorporated into handsome books on the craft of papermaking — such as *Papermaking by Hand in India*, *Papermaking in Southern Siam*, and *Chinese Ceremonial Paper*, with their dozens of authentic samples — while his experiences in America and abroad were chronicled in an autobiography, *Before Life Began*. The Boston Public Library has copies of all these and many other works by Hunter. During his travels he gathered many rare specimens of paper and of actual papermaking equipment, forming a unique collection which is now housed in the Paper Museum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology at Cambridge.

"For many years," Hunter writes, "it has been my desire that [my] assemblage of data embracing the early paper mills of America might be incorporated in a volume produced in its entirety by my Private Press. After a decade of arduous work . . . this prolonged desire has been achieved."

Papermaking by Hand in America is printed throughout on stock made by hand from new white rags in Hunter's own mill at Lime Rock, Connecticut, by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century methods.

The type and ornaments were designed, cut, and cast for the volume by Dard Hunter, Junior, the son of the author, who worked for two years in creating the special font. They were composed into pages directly from the type cases by Hunter, working from notes and without the use of a manuscript. For each of the many specimens of early paper and watermarks which appear in the book individual molds and watermarking devices were made, duplicating exactly the original number of laid- and chain-lines to the inch. Finally the book was printed by hand, two sheets at a time, at Hunter's own Mountain House Press at Chillicothe, Ohio.

The first section of *Papermaking by Hand in America* is a record of the early papermakers of this country, illustrated with over a hundred facsimiles. The history of the earliest paper production in each of eighteen states, from the founding of the first American mill in 1691 to 1811, is told in detail. There are many reproductions of laws, proclamations, and advertisements relating to early paper-making. Unending research has obviously gone into the volume, which bears out its author's contention that all the facts have been substantiated with contemporary documentary evidence. In collecting the material for the book, Hunter visited many of the old mill sites and examined countless deeds, wills, maps, contracts, newspapers, and almanacs.

Until the late seventeenth century, all printing in this country was done upon paper made abroad, usually in England or the Low Countries. Then in 1689 a Dutchman, William Rittenhouse, emigrated with his family to Pennsylvania with the definite purpose of building a paper mill. By 1691 his factory near Germantown had begun to turn out many reams of paper, most of which was used by the Philadelphia printer William Bradford. The chapter describing the Rittenhouse mill includes four facsimiles of their watermarks and several reproductions of early references to the mill.

Since the earliest settlements Massachusetts had been predominant in American printing and publishing; at that time two out of every three books issued in the country were printed in Boston. In 1728 the "Acts and Resolves" of the Bay Colony included an Act for the encouragement of making paper, which granted a ten-year monopoly to five citizens. The chapter in the book devoted to Massachusetts has a facsimile of a page from this Act, and also a specimen of watermarked paper made from an antique-laid mold once used for the making of paper for Massachusetts Bank notes.

The second section of the volume contains reproductions of forty-three pictorial papermakers' labels and samples, dating from the

early nineteenth century. Most of these, too, are printed on handmade paper exactly like that of the original, often on colored stock and with colored inks. In many cases these labels were the work of notable American artists. Abel Bowen, the Boston engraver, made labels for Elijah Burbank of Worcester, whose paper was used by Isaiah Thomas; one of them shows an exterior view of the Burbank mill. The elaborate allegorical label of Platner and Smith, of Lee, Massachusetts, was designed by Nathaniel Currier, of the famous firm of Currier and Ives.

The Boston Public Library has a special interest in this volume, for it owns many books, pamphlets, and letters written or printed on handmade paper from early American paper mills. The collections of the Rare Book Department include several works printed by William Bradford, the first printer to use American-made stock. It also has a copy of the first book to be printed in this country on "wove" paper, Charlotte Smith's *Elegiac Sonnets*, issued by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester in 1795. In a preface to the volume, the printer states that "the making of the particular kind of paper on which these Sonnets are printed, is a new business in America . . . it is the first manufactured by the Editor."

ALISON BISHOP

Some Seventeenth-Century Spanish Books

IT is a real pleasure for the student to browse among the riches of the Ticknor Collection. Every shelf has something to catch the eye and excite curiosity. Here are a few books selected at random, with brief paragraphs about each.

The *Ydeas de Apolo* by Don Sebastian Ventura de Vergara Salcedo, printed in Madrid in 1663, contains sonnets, many of them addressed "a una Dama"; narrative poems telling old myths like those of Jupiter and Danae, and Mars and Venus; romances or longer lyric poems, including marriage songs, eulogies, and descriptions of court festivals; and finally religious poems, largely in the form of the five-line stanza called "quintilla."

Vergara Salcedo, who came from Burgos, was a follower of the school of Luis de Gongora, the initiator of Gongorism or *cultismo* — the cultivated or ornate style. The sonnets that he wrote on the deaths of Prince Baltasar Carlos and the poets Francisco Lopez de Zarate and Geronimo Cancer first made him known in literary circles. Among the longer poems of the volume one may note a

panegyric to the Duke of Naxera, who was Vergara's patron and made him the warden of a castle. The esteem that the poet enjoyed at the Spanish court may be inferred from the fact that King Philip IV requested him to compose a narrative in verse about the baptism of Prince Felipe Prospero.

Tipped in the volume is a sheet with manuscript notes by George Ticknor, giving his impressions of the poems. He calls the sonnets "poor"; the ballads, "chiefly gallant and not good — subjects not suited to the honest old ballad"; the epistles and elegies, "formal, cold — courtly"; and at the end, the religious quintillas, "flat." Evidently these notes were the basis of Ticknor's comments on the poet in his *History of Spanish Literature*. The Boston scholar acquired the volume from his friend Robert Southey, whose signature is on the title-page with the date "London 1837."

*

Don Juan Enríquez de Zúñiga's *Consejos políticos y morales*, originally published in 1634 in Cuenca, was reprinted in Córdoba in 1642. The Ticknor Collection has a copy of this small volume on political and moral advice. Having earned a doctor's degree in both civil and canonical law, and having held several offices in the cities of Cuenca, León, and Ávila, the author thought himself well qualified to write such a book.

He touches upon many subjects, such as the bringing up of children and their training, the proper attitude towards women, the attributes of a good judge, and then manners, friendship, moderation, and the best outlook on life and death. One may note that in 1663 Don Enríquez had another book published with a similar title but entirely different subject matter.

The main attractions of the Library's copy, however, are the notes written in the margins by at least four former owners. For the most part the handwriting is blurred and faded. One of the owners wrote all his notes in Latin; another made a summary of all the chapters at the beginning of each. These marginal comments are mainly quotations from the Bible and famous authors, from Seneca, Tacitus, and Plutarch. The signatures of Don Francisco de Velasco and Guillelmo Picard de Sevilla, and two almost obliterated autographs may possibly be the names of the men responsible for the notes.

*

Bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, "visitador general" of New Spain from 1640 to 1649, found fault with the numerous exemp-

tions and privileges which the Jesuit missionaries had enjoyed in Mexico since the early seventeenth century, especially when they refused to show him their licenses to preach and hear confessions. Regarding these rights as encroachments on his episcopal jurisdiction, he addressed a letter to Pope Innocent X, denouncing the Jesuits. The Pope agreed with the bishop, but asked him to be more lenient. From this conflict began the quarrel which was to terminate in the suppression of the Company of Jesus in 1767.

Among the many books and letters that were written on the subject was Alonso de Roxas's *Memorial al Re Nuestro Señor*, published in answer to a volume by Palafox. Roxas felt that it was necessary to justify the actions of the Jesuits, and attacked the bishop's denunciation of Jesuit exemption from the payment of the "diezmos." He explained in great detail how the Company of Jesus had first acquired this privilege and why it was beneficial rather than harmful. In similar fashion, he tried to answer many other charges against the Jesuits. The apology closes with an *Apendiz*, written by Juan Antonio Jarque, a distinguished Jesuit humanist.

The title-page does not mention the publisher, the city, or the date; it merely states that the work was published by the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Puebla de Los Angeles. The date 1650 has been added in an old hand. Most bibliographers believe that the book was printed in Madrid in the 1650's.

The author's name appears only once with the statement that he was "Procurador general" of the Province of the Company of Jesus in New Spain. Jarque's name is not signed, but Father López de Arbizu, in his *Historia del Colegio de Zaragoza*, testifies to Jarque's authorship.

The Library's copy, recently added to the Ticknor Collection, is in a fine eighteenth-century binding.

GENEVIEVE GUSHEE

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EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

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OCTOBER 1953

Defoe and the South Sea Company

By JOHN ROBERT MOORE

ON June 12, 1711, when the royal assent was given to the Act establishing the South Sea Company, the measure was ascribed to Robert Harley, recently made Earl of Oxford and virtually prime minister of Great Britain. But later writers have generally assumed that the project was really Defoe's. According to Harley's biographer, "its inception was due to De Foe . . . it is hardly possible to overrate the influence of De Foe upon the consolidation of the floating debt and the creation of the South Sea Company."¹ As Defoe's reputation rests so largely on his ability as an economist and the South Sea Bubble has become the favorite example of unsound economics, one is tempted to ask, "What was Defoe's real attitude toward the South Sea Company?"

An analysis of Defoe's correspondence with Harley and an extensive reading of his publications (especially those recently discovered to be his) will establish six facts: that Defoe was out of touch with Harley when the South Sea Act was passed; that he did not approve of Harley's Company, although he tried to salvage what he could out of the project; that he recognized that the opposition to it was largely partisan; that he foresaw the probability of stock-jobbing (like that which brought on the collapse of 1720); that he did his best to break the force of that catastrophe; and that he afterwards regarded the de-

flated shares (representing the national credit) as a safe investment for his daughter Hannah.

Writing as a supposed French observer of the English scene, six years after the Act was passed, Defoe gave Harley credit for securing approval of the plan; but the tribute was paid to his finesse in funding the national debts and in establishing the trading company, which (to the French observer, as in part to Defoe) seemed "an unpracticable commerce."² These floating debts, which Defoe estimated at £9,000,000 after the delinquent interest had been lumped with the principal, were unsecured. As the creditors had no means of immediate collection and no certainty of eventual payment, the debts sold to speculators for a discount which at one time reached 45%,³ making it impossible for the Government to finance new loans. The future conduct of the great war with France, even the continued existence of Harley's Ministry, were at the mercy of Whig financiers determined to bring about a change in the Government.

According to Harley's plan, the South Sea Company was to assume this floating debt and guarantee a 6% dividend until eventual payment of the principal. This would restore the national credit at once. In addition, the Company was empowered to engage in a South Sea trade and (by a later clause) in a northern fishery, for which it could raise capital by assessments of 10% and 1% on the shareholders. If these commercial undertakings were successful, the added income might be very great; but, even if they were never tried, or if they failed completely, Parliament had assigned the Company the income from certain taxes which would enable it to pay the 6% dividend. To the holder of any of the debts, which had been a drug on the market, there was a certainty of great financial advantage and a possibility of additional profit. At a time when the credit of private trading companies was higher than that of the nation, and when it was much easier to raise national revenue by a lottery than by direct taxation, the speculative proposal which Harley offered was exactly what was needed to win popular support and to deliver his Administration from its thralldom under the Whig financiers.

The project was not necessarily unsound, but the Company was from the first more under the control of politicians and speculators

than of merchants. The proposal for a fishery was not seriously entertained until about 1724. The plans for the South Sea trade were presented so vaguely that it was never clear whether they could be carried out without a favorable peace treaty (which had not been secured). And the whole project contained the seeds of stock-market speculation and of political manipulation.

In his long intimacy with Harley, during the periods when he was seeing his patron "as usual every evening,"⁴ perhaps Defoe had thrown out some hints about English commerce in Spanish America. But there is clear evidence that Harley *did not* consult him in advance about the Act to establish the South Sea Company proposed in the House of Commons on May 2, 1711, formally introduced on May 3, and given the royal assent on June 12. *For nearly six months* (from March 3 until near the end of August) Defoe seems to have had no personal interview with Harley. *For more than three months* (from March 3 to June 7) we have no scrap of any correspondence between them. As late as May 29 Defoe was apologizing to the Earl of Buchan because he was unable to approach Harley to advance the interest of Buchan's friend.⁵ Not until June 19,⁶ a week after the Act was approved, is there the slightest evidence that Defoe mentioned the South Sea project to Harley. Afterwards Harley said that he had shared his project for paying off the debt with only two men;⁷ Defoe — so recently allied with the rival Whig leaders, and so certain to be distrustful of the more speculative features of Harley's project — was not one of those two.

In November, 1710, Defoe was in Scotland; on January 9, 1711, he was still communicating with Harley from Edinburgh.⁸ But on February 13 he wrote from London to ask permission to lay before Harley his own thoughts on seven fiscal subjects (Credit and the Lottery, Funds and the Coal Duty, Post Office, Stamp Office, Other Funds, African Company, French Trade), apparently none of them remotely connected with the South Sea plan.⁹ On February 19 he wrote about affairs in Scotland;¹⁰ on February 26 he offered to write a tract explaining the Lottery;¹¹ on March 2 he expressed concern about Scotland and on March 3 he proposed to print a tract in Edinburgh to allay fears among the people.¹²

At this time Harley's power as Chancellor of the Exchequer

waned rapidly. National credit was sinking — because of the immense floating debt, the uncertain prospects for peace, and the persistent attempts of Whig financial men to undermine the Tory Government. One of the turning points in Harley's life came on March 8, when he was stabbed by a French adventurer. Harley's enforced seclusion gave him time to mature his plans, and his heroic conduct toward the foreign assassin was rewarded by a wave of popularity. On May 2 he introduced the South Sea project in the House of Commons;¹³ on May 23 he became Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (for the sake of clearness I refer to him throughout as Harley); on May 29 he became Lord High Treasurer; and from August, 1711, to January, 1714, he served as Governor of the new South Sea Company.

During May and the first weeks of June, 1711, a time which was critical for the South Sea plan, Defoe had nothing to say about the most interesting topic of the hour. One feeble tract in support of the Company has been erroneously assigned to him, bearing the date "The 3d of May, 1711."¹⁴ But Defoe actually kept aloof. On May 14 his 89 page tract *Eleven Opinions About Mr. H[arley]* had much to say about Harley's efforts to restore the nation's credit by other means — *not one word about the South Sea*. His *Review* was treating such safe subjects as the religious controversies in Scotland, the rumors of approaching peace, the proper treatment of smallpox, even the superiority of the Whig notion of Trade as opposed to the Tory action of the Landed Interest.

On June 21 Defoe finally got around to mentioning the subject which (as a journalist) he could not altogether avoid:

Our Eyes are all now upon the Trade to the *South Seas*; a Trade as proposed, few People Understand, and some for that Reason, *viz.* Because they Understand it not, speak Evil of it——¹⁵

One might expect this to lead to a defence of the new Company; but it did nothing of the sort. Defoe used it as an excuse to launch off immediately on an allegory about the genealogy of Trade, which continued through two numbers of the *Review*, a tedious digression about the family relationship between Trade and Necessity and Poverty and Industry and Ingenuity and Honesty and Invention and the rest. We need not suppose that Defoe's readers were actually interested in this: his pur-

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
SOUTH-SEA
TRADE.

WITH
An Enquiry into the Grounds
and Reasons of the present
Dislike and Complaint a-
gainst the Settlement of a
South-Sea Company.

By the Author of the REVIEW.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *J. Baker*, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-
Noster-Row*. 1712.

Title-Page of Defoe's Famous Essay

pose was to mark time until he had squared accounts with Harley.

When he came back to the South Sea Company again (June 28) it was with an apology for avoiding the subject :

Our Eyes are now all bent upon the New Undertaking of a Trade to the *South Seas*, and I know it has been expected that the *Review* should give its Opinion of it— Which I shall not be afraid to do, without respect to who *are* or *are not* against it, let that fall *where* and *how* it will.¹⁶

Brave words these; but the author — as bold as any man in England when he knew where he stood — had not yet come to any decision. Again the promising beginning was only a point of departure, for Defoe immediately went off on a discursive and innocuous account of the Spaniards' conquest of Mexico and South America two centuries before. On June 30 he came a little nearer, with some general remarks about the possibilities of trade with Spanish America; but he was so conscious of his slowness in approaching the question that he remarked, "I must ask Pardon of the Impatient."¹⁷ In the succeeding numbers he continued to skirt closer; but it was not until July 17 that the *Review* quoted a specific article of the Act incorporating the South Sea Company and began a serious discussion of the conditions under which the Company would have to operate.¹⁸

Defoe's cautious delay here is in marked contrast to his usual alertness as a political writer. For instance, on May 27, 1712, he wrote to ask Harley whether the British commander had been ordered to keep his troops out of battle against the French :

If you please but to hint your commands to Mr. Read by a single *yes* or *no* it is enough to be understood by me and shall be immediately obeyed, I hope to your satisfaction.¹⁹

Eleven days later, this inquiry was followed by the publication of Defoe's powerful tract *Reasons against Fighting*. But in the spring and early summer of 1711, when the fate of Harley's regime depended on the success or failure of his South Sea project, the most daring pamphleteer of the age, editor of a political journal which appeared three times a week, hesitated two and a half months before throwing his weight in favor of it.

Defoe's correspondence with Harley is even more convincing. No doubt others were having trouble in seeing the states-

man whose recovery from the attempted assassination had left him the most influential man in England; Sir M. Wharton wrote with spleen of Harley's porter who had turned him away at the door.²⁰ But Defoe not only failed to see Harley, to renew the old intimacy which had been interrupted; for the most part he did not seem to be trying to bring up the South Sea project for discussion. On June 7²¹ he wrote about Scottish affairs, promising to keep an appointment Harley had set for June 11. After Harley had refused to see him, he wrote next (June 19) to lament the fact that he was no longer allowed to communicate with his patron:

I am your daily petitioner for an opportunity in but six words to lay before you some things relating to new uneasinesses in Scotland; something relating to the trade to the South Seas, which abundance speak evil of because they do not understand; and something relating to the poor Keelmen at Newcastle whose oppressions seem reserved for your hand to put an end to. I beg a few minutes at your leisure.²²

The phrase about people speaking evil of the South Sea project because they did not understand it was repeated almost verbatim in the *Review* two days later.²³ This was the first passage in his correspondence with Harley, and the first passage in the *Review*, in which Defoe mentioned the South Sea Company.

A week later (June 26) he had still been unable to see Harley, and he was still out of touch with the great project:

I would gladly have spoken six words to your Lordship on the subject of the South Sea affair, in which I persuade myself I may do some service in print.²⁴

On July 13 he thanked Harley for the resumption of the payment of his "bounty," which had been discontinued; and (in response to a command to put his ideas into writing) he discussed Scotland and made *his first proposal to Harley regarding the South Sea trade*.²⁵ On July 17 he was offering for Harley's consideration his own elaborate plan²⁶ — which had been submitted in great secrecy to King William and the Earl of Portland at least ten or twelve years before, and which Harley had never seen and had apparently never heard of. Last of all, in his public writings Defoe was explaining that he would have preferred to keep the funding of national debts and the South

Sea commerce separate (whereas it was the essence of Harley's scheme to entangle the two completely). But he declared that the funding of the debts was justifiable and necessary in itself, even if the other undertakings should fail, and that there was a good chance of making the South Sea trade succeed.

With characteristic daring, he closed *An Essay on the South Sea Trade* in September with two wishes in which Harley would have been the last man to concur :

1. That those two likely and encouraging prospects of the public good had not been thus unhappily joined.

2. That the parliament may, if it pleases God so far to enlighten them, yet separate them, or rather restore them to their independent existence, which, I doubt not, would equally satisfy the people concerned, the first proposer, and the whole nation.²⁷

Many historians have assumed that the South Sea Company was damned from its creation by its need for the uncertain approval of the Spanish Government, by its dependence on securing the *Asiento* (the contract for the exclusive privilege of carrying slaves to the Spanish colonies), by the extreme limitation of permitted trade, by the heavy tax allowed to Spain, and by the 20% of the profits originally set aside for Queen Anne (actually for the new favorite, Mrs. Masham, for the rascally Arthur Moore, and for anyone else who could work a dexterous finger into the pie).

Not one of these objections would have had weight against Defoe's own project. He did assume that the *Asiento* could be gained for the English African Company; but this proposal did not figure in his proposal. He held that his colonies in Chile and what is now the Argentine could be established equally well in peace or in war, and that the Spanish would trade with them if they found it profitable to do so. His commerce was not to be limited to a ship or two a year, but was to be capable of infinite expansion throughout the Spanish American empire. And he refused to hear of any private gain for Court Favorites.

Five years later (August, 1716) his *Mercurius Politicus* announced that the new treaty with Spain gave permission for the South Sea Company to plant a colony below Buenos Ayres. The Whig Stanhope had accepted the plan which the Tory Harley had rejected; the colony Defoe had proposed at least

fifteen years earlier to King William was made possible by international treaty. As an anonymous writer, Defoe could not express his triumph; but he suggested that Gibraltar and Minorca (so expensive to maintain, and of so little value except in war) might be exchanged

for the entire possession of Buenos-Ayres, or such other Equivalent share of *America* as might be equal to the *Spaniards*, and perhaps more to the Advantage of *Great-Britain* and those Places in the *Streights*, which are hitherto at least an Hundred Thousand Pound a Year Expence to us without being *in time of Peace* of any Consequence to us, Compar'd to a good Collony upon the *Terra firma* in *America*, which we are capable of Improving to a prodigious degree; . . .²⁸

The Directors of the South Sea Company made no effort to carry out Defoe's colonial project (which they had ostensibly adopted), preferring to fritter away the capital and the opportunities of the Company in graft and bribery, which were only partly offset by manipulating the stock market.

In his *Review* and in several pamphlets Defoe suggested English merchandise which might profitably be sent to Spanish America. He remarked that Harley's opponents would rather lose the advantage of having their loans restored to par than enter into the South Sea Company; later he observed that the Whigs had bought so much stock that the Company had become their own affair. During the crisis of 1720 a Tory begged Harley to help in turning the tide against the Whig speculators²⁹ (largely the same moneyed men who had opposed the original project nine years before).

Defoe's attitude toward the South Sea disaster can be traced in his previously known writings (especially in the periodical called *The Director*, assigned to him in part nearly a century ago, but virtually unknown to his biographers). Even more valuable for the purpose are three periodicals and one pamphlet not previously attributed to Defoe: *The Commentator*, certain passages in *The Englishman's Journal*, *The Citizen*, and *The Case of Mr. Law, Truly Stated*. Elsewhere I shall discuss more fully Defoe's share in preventing the crash of 1720 from wrecking the nation's finances and overthrowing the Government. Here I shall attempt only a brief sketch of his ideas on the subject.

From 1701 to 1719 Defoe had been writing against frauds of Exchange-Alley, bribery in Parliamentary elections by speculators, loss of confidence in the war with France through bets on the sieges and campaigns, and delay or failure to maintain the Army or Navy because of the weakening of public credit. As the Bank and the South Sea Company became the principal holders of the national debt, attacks on their securities were virtually high treason, preparing the way for an invasion by the Pretender. One of the first signs of rebellion was an attempted run on the Bank.

The great problem of national finance was to maintain order in a system in which expenditures had far outrun revenues. The annual revenue had amounted to no more than £2,000,000, but in fourteen years the national debt had swelled to more than £50,000,000. This was partly due to the great war, partly to the graft and profusion of Queen Anne's successors.

It is not entirely clear why the Directors of the South Sea Company chose to outbid the Bank's offer to the nation, assuming responsibility for virtually the entire national debt at a reduced rate of interest and paying £7,000,000 for the privilege and for a pretended monopoly of the South Sea trade. According to one historian, "The South Sea Bubble was the unfortunate result of a well-meant attempt to consolidate and reduce the national debts, both capital and interest."³⁰ But, in view of the operations of the Directors, such an altruistic purpose seems more than doubtful. It was a time of speculation, and great profits were to be made by directing the speculation. It was a time when the Hanoverians were dominant at Court, and one could gain power by granting favors to the Hanoverians. It was a time when money often swayed the elections, and Parliament might be controlled by a Company with a capital of close to £50,000,000.

As Defoe reminded his readers, all that the Directors needed to do to meet future demands was to sell the Company's stock above par and reinvest in national securities at par. But in practice no such reinvestment was being made. The gains through the appreciation of the stock were drained off as fast as they came in. George I was said to have made £106,000 in one speculation, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was said

to have made nearly a million. Worse still, according to the Ministry's enemies, the Hanoverians wanted the money to advance the cause of Hanover — to pay for Hanover's acquisition of Mecklenburg and Wismar, to buy off the opposition of the Czar, and to promote alliances with Poland and with Spain.

During the spring and summer of 1720, as the stock rose while the prospects of the Company grew more doubtful, many people dashed in for a quick profit while the shares were still advancing. Defoe continued to warn against the evils of stockjobbing, but he stressed the soundness of national credit. When the crash began in the fall of 1720, he shifted from the leisurely style of *The Commentator*; and, as the crisis intensified, the voice of *The Director* became more strident. Defoe sought to prevent a panic: the Pretender was not to be let in through a collapse of confidence in the Government; stocks were not to be sold so cheaply that foreigners could buy the nation's indebtedness for a song; the Directors — IF GUILTY — were to be punished, but their guilt required legal proof, and national security was more important than deserved punishment. *The Director* followed the exact line pursued by Robert Walpole, whose cautious procedure won him the name of "The Skreen," but served to restore the nation's credit.

Thereafter Defoe's judgment of the South Sea project continued to be a perfectly consistent blend of seemingly contradictory elements. He supported the national credit, he condemned stockjobbing and the South Sea Directors, and — when it could be secured for a fair price — he bought eight shares of the stock as an investment for his daughter Hannah.

After the *Asiento* contract had been surrendered to Spain for £100,000, the Company devoted itself to the payment of annuities. In 1807 it lost its obsolete trading privileges. In 1854 its last stock was paid off or converted into other securities. In the words of Viscount Erleigh, "It is to be hoped that few worthy Victorians detected the wild South Sea strain in their sober-sided Consols."³¹

But Defoe knew that *his own* South Sea plan had not failed, for it had never been tried. In the dream-fulfilment of *A New Voyage Round the World* (1724) he allowed his narrator to visit Chile and to send an exploring party over the Andes and down

the rivers to the sea. From the account of the interior which these travelers gave, when they were picked up on the Atlantic Coast of what is now Argentina, Defoe's merchant-explorer assured his readers:

. . . I take the liberty to recommend that part of America as the best and the most advantageous part of the whole globe for an English colony; the climate, the soil, and, above all, the easy communication with the mountains of Chili, recommending it beyond any place that ever I saw or read of, . . .³²

Two years before Defoe's death, on the prospect of war with Spain, he was prepared to offer his favorite project yet once more.³³ He continued to dream of a joint settlement in Chile and the Argentine, each region supporting the other by communication across the mountains. An English settlement south of the Rio de la Plata was approved by treaty in 1716, but it was never established. Still, in 1953, despite the reduced productivity of the region under Fascist rule in Buenos Ayres, what Defoe called "the Whole Island of Great Britain" derives much of its grain and most of its meat from the fertile plains of the Argentine, where he planned to found an English colony more than two and a half centuries ago.

Notes

All books and pamphlets mentioned in this paper are available in first editions in the great Trent Defoe Collection of the Boston Public Library, together with exceptionally good sets of the *Review*. Certain other periodicals mentioned here are accessible only in other libraries: the only extant files of *The Commentator*, *The Director*, *The Englishman's Journal*, and *The Citizen* are in the Bodleian Library; and Indiana University has the most complete run of *Mercurius Politicus* in America.

1. E. S. Roscoe, *Robert Harley Earl of Oxford* (New York and London, 1902), pp. 150-151.

2. *Minutes of the Negotiations of Monsr. Mesnager* (London, 1717), pp. 50-1.

3. *Portland MSS.*, V, 362.

4. *Ibid.*, V, 75.

5. George Chalmers, *The Life of Daniel De Foe* (London, 1790), p. 33, note.

6. *Portland MSS.*, V, 13-14.

7. *Ibid.*, V, 464. It is not clear whether Harley referred to the South Sea project or to the earlier (and less successful) attempt to take up the debt

through Exchequer bills. Perhaps he was deliberately representing them as parts of the same general undertaking. The Exchequer bills were never effective in absorbing the debts; and there is no valid evidence that the South Sea project was formulated until after Harley was stabbed by Guiscard. The original suggestion for Harley's plan has sometimes been attributed to William Paterson or to Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, both of whom had visited the West Indies and both of whom had corresponded with Harley about national finances in the latter months of 1710. The Scottish poet Ramsay favored Paterson so far as to refer to the South Sea project as "the Scheme that H—y stole." (See Allan Ramsay, *A Poem on the South Sea* [London, 1720], p. 5; *The Writings of William Paterson*, ed. Saxe Bannister [Second ed., London, 1859], III, Preface, 28th page unnumbered; *Portland MSS.*, IV, 583-4, 645; *Memoirs of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne* [London, 1742], p. 116.) Regardless of any possibility that Harley was prompted by hints from Chamberlen or Paterson, it is clear that his original South Sea project was not suggested by Defoe.

8. *Ibid.*, IV, 652-3.
9. *Ibid.*, IV, 659-60.
10. *Ibid.*, IV, 660-2.
11. *Ibid.*, IV, 662-3.
12. *Ibid.*, IV, 664-5, 665.
13. *Ibid.*, IV, 683. (See letters by Lady Dupplin and the Duke of Buckinghamshire written on the following day, May 3.)
14. *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Settling a Trade to the South-Sea of America* (*Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, II, 501).
15. *Review*, VIII, 153.
16. *Ibid.*, VIII, 165.
17. *Ibid.*, VIII, 170.
18. *Ibid.*, VIII, 197-200.
19. *Portland MSS.*, V, 178.
20. *Ibid.*, V, 17.
21. *Ibid.*, V, 4-5.
22. *Ibid.*, V, 13-14.
23. *Review*, VIII, 153.
24. *Portland MSS.*, V, 22.
25. *Ibid.*, V, 44-7.
26. *Ibid.*, V, 50-2. See also V, 58-61, 86-8.
27. *An Essay on the South Sea Trade* (Hazlitt ed.), p. 13.
28. *Mercurius Politicus* (Aug., 1716), p. 193.
29. *Portland MSS.*, V, 604.
30. Basil Williams, *Stanhope* (Oxford, 1939), p. 433.
31. Viscount Erleigh, *The South Sea Bubble* (London, 1932), p. 166.
32. *A New Voyage Round the World* (Tegg ed.), p. 355.
33. *Reasons for a War* (London, 1729), pp. 28-9.

American Illustrators of Dickens

By FRANK WEITENKAMPF

AS soon as Dickens made his successful entry into the field of fiction, American publishers were quick to reprint his works. These earliest American editions, coming out on the heels of the British ones, naturally had the illustrations of Cruikshank and Phiz. Their etchings were copied by American etchers, such as John Yeager (*Oliver Twist*, 1839), often quite inadequately, giving a colorless copy of the exaggerations of the two British artists. Lea & Blanchard, T. B. Peterson, J. Van Amringe, R. P. Bixby & Co., Harper Brothers, Wiley & Putnam, and Burgess, Stringer & Co. were among our earlier publishers who rushed to meet demand in the 'thirties and 'forties. It has been suggested that the speed caused by competition may have hurried the artists so that they did not give their best. But it does not seem that they had any better to give, anyhow. America had not yet developed a school of illustrators.

The etchings of Cruikshank and Phiz were also copied over here, especially later, in wood-engravings by Gilbert, J. W. Orr, and others. While they had rather more technical facility than the earlier copper-plate copyists, they also often quite weakened the character of the originals, muting, for instance, the snap and ease of Phiz. That can be seen in the wood-engravings of editions published by Appleton (1870), George W. Carleton (1873-4), Harper (1876), Perry Mason (1884), Pollard & Moss (1884). This copying continued, eventually in halftone reproduction, into the present century, as in the *Nicholas Nickleby* of the Riverdale Press, New York, 1906, or *The Child's Dickens* (American Book Co., New York, 1905).

Meanwhile, however, by the 'sixties American artists had begun to furnish original illustrations to Dickens's works. Their drawings are significant precisely to the extent to which they broke away from the pattern set by Cruikshank and Phiz. Those two artists were not fully in touch with the spirit of the novelist, on account of their insistence on caricaturing the

humorous element in his writings — not to speak of their out-doing him in sentimentality and melodramatics. The comic strain in British illustration became fixed, and traces of it remained for many years. For a fuller sympathy with, and understanding of, Dickens, one has to go to later British illustrators, such as S. L. Fildes, Marcus Stone, Frederick Barnard, J. Mahoney. It is this group that American illustration approaches, and joins when at its best.

The best and most noteworthy contribution to Dickens illustration in this country came with the drawings of F. O. C. Darley in the late 'sixties. Some years earlier he had done some illustrations on wood for *Little Paul*, *Dame Durden*, and *Dolly Varden*, published by Redfield, New York. They are not remarkable, rather weak in fact, but at least not too sentimental. The designs which give Darley his prominent place in this field, irrespective of nationality, were done for the important edition of Dickens's works, bearing in various issues ("Globe Edition," "Household Edition," etc.) the imprints of Sheldon & Co., James S. Gregory, and Hurd & Houghton in New York, and Houghton, Mifflin & Co., and S. Walker in Boston. (A set of "proof impressions" was issued in "100 copies for subscribers.") The plates in the body of these volumes were redone from the British ones by Cruikshank, Phiz, Fildes, and Stone, but what concerns us is the frontispieces, a few by the Englishman John Gilbert, and most of them by Darley. Darley's work stands up well beside that of Gilbert, and it takes its place with the illustrations of the British artists coming after Cruikshank and Phiz. The last two and Darley make strange bedfellows in these books. Compare the somewhat factitious, strained sprightliness of Phiz and Darley's straightforward facing of the facts of human character, or Cruikshank's melodramatically exaggerated Fagin with Darley's sane conception.

These illustrations by Darley, like his plates for J. F. Cooper's novels, were reproduced on steel by American engravers. Both stand together as the most notable book illustrations of their day in America. This artist, who illustrated Cooper with appreciative understanding of the native scene, entered into the British atmosphere of Dickens and produced impersonations of that novelist's types which, despite a certain natural



Wm. Depue's Son

Frontispiece of the New York Edition of 1861
Drawing by F. O. C. Darley

and inescapable American tang, rank with the best English illustrations of Dickens. (It is interesting to note that in the British cinema *Great Expectations* two of the scenes appear to be based on the frontispieces which Darley drew for the novel.)

F. G. Kitton in his *Dickens and his illustrators* speaks of Darley as a "most eminent character draughtsman," and approvingly notes that the "extravagant and grotesque" are absent from his drawings. This British writer notes the same quality also in the work of the American Sol Eytinge, Jr. Eytinge showed an amiable, gentle spirit; a genial, kindly humor without caricature; a sympathetic approach to humanity. His accents are restrained; even when sentimental he is not too sweet. (See, for instance, his illustrations for *Child-Pictures from Dickens*, Boston, J. R. Osgood, 1872.) If in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1872) he may have been influenced somewhat by the Dickens-Phiz conception of American types, he was less slashing in his strictures. He did a number of drawings for the Household Edition of Dickens published in the late 'sixties and early 'seventies by Ticknor & Fields of Boston — "with original illustrations," say the title-pages. In other words, they were an American product, not copies of transatlantic originals.

Eytinge also tried his hand at a composition which attracted several artists: Dickens seated, surrounded by characters in his novels. R. W. Buss and others did this in England, W. H. Beard in America. Eytinge's "Mr. Pickwick's reception" has more figures than any of the others. He lacked Darley's force and the plastic quality of his drawing. But he comes close behind him in an evaluating record of our Dickens illustrators, and outdistances most others of the nineteenth century and some of the twentieth. What Dickens himself thought of his illustrations is quoted by Kitton: "they are remarkable alike for a delicate perception of beauty, a lively eye for character, a most agreeable absence of exaggeration, and a general modesty and propriety which I greatly like."

Somewhat earlier came John McLenan. Largely identified with comic art, like Nast and Worth, he made an earnest endeavor to indicate character — notably in *Great Expectations* (Harper, 1860; T. B. Peterson & Bro., 1861) — that forces its way through the more superficial technical conventions, hu-

mor, and sentimentality of the day. Unfortunately some of the drawings were re-drawn on the wood by Henry L. Stephens, destroying much of the originality of the artist's work. The British Gordon Thomson and the American A. B. Frost were brought together in *American Notes and Pictures from Italy*, published in London and New York in the 'seventies, Frost's task in the undertaking naturally lay in the American portion. One may say that he was illustrating American life rather than Dickens in these pictures. The drawings, done early in his career, foreshadow the skill and sympathy with which he later depicted our every-day folk. To the list of Americans of that time one may add also these noted by Kitton: C. S. Reinhart, E. A. Abbey, and W. L. Sheppard.

There came about a condition not uncommon today, namely, the selection of an artist for a task rather out of his line. Thus when Thomas Nast turned from political caricature, in which he attained such pre-eminence, to the illustration of *Pickwick* (Harper, 1873) and *Christmas Story of the Goblin who Stole a Sexton* (McLoughlin Bros., 1867), the results hardly added to his reputation or to that of Dickens. Even less can be said of Thomas Worth's drawings for *The Old Curiosity Shop* (Harper, 1872). Equally undistinguished are A. J. Goodman's illustrations for *Christmas Stories* (Chapman & Hall, London).

At the end of the century Henry Piffard did, for *Edwin Drood* (John C. Winston, Philadelphia), drawings of the humdrum conventional kind characteristic of the novels of the period. (That type of illustration was neatly satirized by Oliver Herford in his *Astonishing tale of a pen-and-ink puppet*.) George Tobin's pictures for the *Christmas Carol* (Stokes, 1899) showed more character, but not too much.

And today? The old British illustrations occasionally turn up here, but generally the new editions, limited or trade, are illustrated by American artists. They aim at novelty of viewpoint and treatment. Judgment of the results may easily be hampered by one's admiration for the artist's technical ability. If one keeps in mind that the latter quality is a necessary means to an end, which implies going with the author, the array of talent has not always produced results overwhelmingly effective, illuminating, or interesting. Little if anything is added to

the understanding of Dickens, either by discriminating presentation of characters or by implied comment on the text. For the absence of this quality we cannot be compensated by meeting an artistic personality, no matter how brilliant. Nor are matters improved by the aid of color, so often called in on account of its supposed appeal to the public. Teamwork with the author is a prime prerequisite for good illustration; and this necessity is often overlooked. Perhaps the artists of today are not quite in touch with Dickens, and when commissioned to illustrate him do not feel entirely at home in the task.

Now for a quick look at the books: Everett Shinn made an interesting book of *Edwin Drood* without quite hitting off the characters as did Luke Fildes in England. Similarly in *Christmas in Dickens* he seems more lively than convincing, slithering between Phiz and the Brocks in manner and viewpoint. Alexander King's illustrations for *The Bloomsbury Christening* (1932) may strike one as pretty much King rather than Dickens. The illustrations by Spencer Baird Nichols for the *Christmas Carol* (1913) and by William Sharp for *Old Curiosity Shop* (1941) show a bit more imagination and characterization. Gordon Ross in *Pickwick* (1938) seems to keep the spirit of Dickens while preserving his artistic individuality. But where does Fritz Kredel, so very satisfactory when the subject is suited to him, stand in the *Christmas Carol* (1943)? Are we not apt to forget Dickens somewhat in admiring Kredel? Do Philip Reed's drawings (1940) for the same story really accomplish much? And, with all their cleverness, does one benefit from René Ben Susan's picturing of *Tale of Two Cities* (1938), Steven Spurrian's of *Nicholas Nickleby* (1940), or Edward Ardizzone's of *Great Expectations* (1939)?

Some of our artists who have been busied in this field are well known, and most of them decidedly able. But success in one specialty, apparently often prompting the choice of the artist, does not necessarily insure success in another. It is to be noted that these artists are not of any ultra-modern group, which might be considered as having passed beyond intimate touch with Dickens through any real or fancied need for self-expression.

Claims for the complete liberty of the artist have led at least one to assert that the pictures are the chief element in the illus-

trated book. One recalls the statement of Bruce Rogers with regard to printing design: "Books should primarily embody the quality of the text." That is just as applicable to illustration.

There is no point to digging up more examples, including lesser known artists, wading through publisher's lists and intruding on the domain of the bibliographer, where completeness is the proper aim and choice is precluded.

Notes by Anatole France

By HELEN DUSTON

THE Boston Public Library has acquired a valuable literary document: a volume consisting of 368 pages of manuscript notes, clippings, corrected printers' proofs, and letters by the great French novelist Anatole France. The material dates from about 1878 to 1908, an important period in France's life, in which he produced such well-known works as *Le crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* (1881), *La vie littéraire* (1888-92), *Thais* (1891), *La reine pédoque* (1893), *L'histoire contemporaine* (1897-1901) and *L'île des pingouins* (1908). These fragments provide a cross-section of the author's opinions, showing the variety of his interests and his inexhaustible curiosity. There are notes on philosophy, religion, history, politics, astronomy, art, and of course literature; comments on writers, including Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Sainte-Beuve, Renan, and Dumas *fils*; and bits of essays, stories, and poetry.

For the most part the papers are disjointed; there are single paragraphs and in one instance the greater portion of an article, but, despite the apparent incoherence, one can trace a connection between the fragments. One is struck by the haphazard manner in which France jotted ideas down on anything that came within his reach. We have, covered with his fine but often illegible handwriting, old bills, letters, and postcards, hotel note-paper, announcements of funerals and weddings, invitations to his daughter Suzanne's marriage.

One of the most important collections of notes is that pertaining to France's *La vie de Jeanne d'Arc*. The composition of this biography, which finally appeared in 1908, occupied the author for more than twenty years. As early as 1876 he had conceived of writing a book on the Maid of Orleans modelled after Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, presenting her not as a saint but as a religious mystic and a heroine. He had collected a book-case full of reference works and a stack of notes. Although not a pure scholar, France was painstaking in his research; he spared no effort in consulting primary sources when they were avail-

able. He notes, for instance, that he did research in the *Recueil des chroniques de France*, Perceval de Cagny, and Juvénal des Ursains. Otherwise he turned to such authorities as Pierre Champion and Robillard de Beaurepaire. He pursued his investigations around the life of every man he mentions: Charles of Bourbon, Count of Clermont, the "bâtard de Wandome," Denys Castinel, Robert de Chartres; the names are scribbled down, for the most part with page references to his sources, sometimes with quotations.

Besides these notes, the material on Joan of Arc includes a few isolated passages from the book and a great number of proof sheets, corrected by France with great care. The first set, stamped "Author's second proofs" and marked in black and red ink, are of Chapter XVIII, "The capitulation of Châlons and Rheims. The coronation." Most of the changes are small ones: spelling, additional notes, an error in date. There are also the fifth proofs of the chapter called "La dame des Armoises" (dealing with one of the many impostors who appeared after Joan's death), with purple ink corrections and signed by the author. The proofs of Chapter XX, "La sainte et la sorcière," which France had previously called "La pucelle et les théologiens," are corrected in black ink. Then there are the proofs of the notes to Chapters 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, and 35, and the manuscript of the Table of Contents.

There is a short fable in manuscript. It is the kind of satiric fairy tale which, extended, might have appeared in any of France's collections such as *L'étui de nacre* (1892) or *Les contes de Jacques Tournebroche* (1908). The present writer offers, in all due modesty, an English version of it — as well as of the other passages selected from the volume:

In the neighborhood of Basel, in Switzerland, there can be seen a Cave which was once entered by a poor man of the town; a Tailor by profession, who, in the year 1520, penetrated further into the Cave than anyone hitherto, and came finally to a beautiful garden in the midst of which he saw a magnificent castle. There appeared a lovely Damsel whose body was half of human form, with a golden crown on her head, and below the navel a hideous Serpent. This Damsel led the man by the hand to an iron gate guarded by two

black dogs, which, being threatened by the Damsel, lay quiet; she took a large bunch of keys, opened a coffer, took out several pieces of gold and silver, and gave them to him; he was to show them to the whole town of Basel. She told him she was of royal lineage, but, since long accursed in this place, changed into a monster, and that she could only be freed from the spell if a chaste youth were to kiss her three times; he dared to kiss her twice, but seeing the howls and contortions she made, he durst not try it thrice; since then this man has been unable to enter the Cave, or even to find the entrance. Some years later another poor man from Basel entered the Cave, hoping to find succor as the first man had, but he only found bones and a horrible entrance. This so terrified him that on coming out he fell ill and died three days later.

Scribbled on the back of some bibliographical references, there is a nostalgic fragment in the same vein:

Youths and maidens. Since I have grown old, I scarcely see them any more. They mock at me, pass me by, and laugh in my face. But when I was young, I used to see them sometimes, dancing in flowered hats, under the rays of the moon, in the clearings. God knows what He is doing . . .

France's creative works have suffered an eclipse of late, perhaps because our age demands more realism than the erudite grace of his novels and tales can give. But one must not forget that he was also a powerful critic, whose articles are delightful reading. The largest portion of the critical material in the Library's volume deals with Renan, who, with Voltaire, was France's great master. His scepticism and irony were largely modelled on that of the two philosophers. There is a part of the manuscript of an article on Renan which appeared under France's own name posthumously in *La Revue de Paris* in 1924, but had first been published in *L'Univers illustré* in 1884, under the pseudonym of Gérôme. This fragment deals with Renan's attitude to friendship. Renan condemned ordinary friendship on the grounds that it was exclusive, made the individual partial, and distorted his sense of values. France was a humanist, and to him friendship was one of the great things on earth, "yes, even when it is unjust, for it is on love, and not justice, that the world is founded." One might say that here was the

great difference between Renan and France; however, as France remarks, Renan's opinion was merely a legacy from the St. Sulpice seminary, and actually his life was filled with friendships.

There are many isolated lines on Renan, probably jotted down as France was reading his works, and all expressing admiration of his scholarship and his intellectual integrity. As far as can be determined, none of these has previously been published:

[Renan] is of an astonishing stature. One imagines he is ingenious, industrious, unhappy, an enemy of the gods, and their equal, pursued by an implacable fate, the most admirable and most impious of men.

Above all he was moral and religious, since after his beliefs had gone he did not lose faith in those truths of feeling which constitute the dignity of man, and ensure the security of life. He thought that good consisted in doing good, and never considered there was dupery in virtue and in sacrifice. The god he had lost he found within himself and in the heart of man.

We should be paying insufficient homage to this life if we did not associate with it the admirable woman who shared it, served and embellished it with strong and charming virtues, and who was the accomplished wife of a great man . . .

The following was apparently written just after Renan died in 1892:

What a beautiful life! It was all learning and goodness . . . At this moment, it is only possible for me to recall what I saw of it. This alone is a great effort in my grief.

There remained of his destroyed faith infinitely precious fragments from which he rebuilt many a sanctuary.

Lofty and serene thoughts, which teach us to overcome grief . . . : "From the immense balancing of good and evil there issues a profit, a favorable reliquary. This surplus of good is the reason for the existence of the universe, and the reason for its conservation. Why be, if there were no advantage in being? It is so easy not to be."

"In his Chair at the Collège de France (the Chair of Hebrew), originally restricted to a philological study of the Bible, Renan was the true initiator of Semitic epigraphy."

— Clermont-Ganneau.

His teaching — pleasing geniality — the smile that lit up the powerful countenance.

His philosophy. Complete darkness hides from us the ends of the universe.

Faith in the future is one of the most constant traits of his nature, one of the most beautiful too, for there is a necessity to work at it.

Renan used to tell Emile Ollivier that work never tired him. As soon as he feels the least weariness, he stops. Ollivier, on this subject, distinguishes between those who work pen in hand, and those who do their thinking first. He is of the last group, and he believes it is the method of strong and inspired writers.

France often contributed prefaces to the works of well-known authors; a portion of one such piece for the collected poems of Sainte-Beuve, published in 1879, occupied two sheets:

Sainte-Beuve indulged his fancy in this last collection. He complicates his ideas as far as he can. He wonders what Roger Collard and Boileau would have said of the modern poets; he imagines Voltaire attending Monsieur Patin's class. The style, tortured to excess, is often of a disconcerting strangeness. We had already seen in *Joseph Delorme* some rather extreme ellipses, such as this, "On my table, some fresh milk, *in my bed a dark eye*."

And this is classical next to one we find in the *Pensées d'août*, "But his height is leaping and could hunt the deer" [Mais sa taille bondit et chasserait le renne]. A few pages away, I see "a wailing bundle" [un maillot vagissant]. The worst of it is that these audacities are minutely calculated; among the most unfortunate habits of his last manner one must note the suppression of the article, the use of comparatives without antecedent.

On the same page, there is a line which might also apply to Sainte-Beuve: "Of whom someone has said that he cassocked his sentences."

France quotes the following on Mallarmé from Wizewa's *Le mouvement socialiste*: "The oft-repeated wish of Mallarmé to carry in his pocket, on innumerable squares of paper, answers, invariable and thought-out in advance, to all the questions that might be asked him throughout life." The context of

the following lines is obscure; perhaps they also apply to Mallarmé: "Of all the tenderness towards nature, of all splendid idolatry for the beauties of the world, what remains then to this literary and worldly ascetic? Pure thought, the cult of the personality, the contemplation of the ego. He has made a doctrine of this."

France wrote several articles on Emile Faguet, the critic, and the first few pages of the scrapbook show the author at work. There is a newspaper clipping of Paul Desjardin's article commending Faguet's *Dix-huitième siècle* for its clarity and simplicity, then one by René Doumic especially praising Faguet's *Dix-neuvième siècle* for its independence of thought and frankness. It is interesting to note that France kept these; though he never liked Faguet as a critic, he was obviously anxious to familiarize himself with the current opinions about him. Then there are a few lines by France himself: "On the whole, M. Faguet reproaches Voltaire for not reducing all the antinomies . . . for not conciliating divine prescience with the human will, and for not deciding between optimism and pessimism." He kept the clipping of his own article on the *Dix-neuvième siècle*. It is a censure of Faguet's method of isolating works and writers from their social background, concluding that Faguet was neither a philosopher nor sensitive to poetry.

Among the notes on Emile Faguet is an interesting letter about his father, Victor Faguet. It was written by a friend of the elder Faguet, Hégésippe Cler, who signed himself "Your late colleague of the Petite République, and your devout reader." He sent a pamphlet by Victor Faguet to France, and begged the latter to write a tribute to him: "He remained all his life a high-school teacher at the lycée of Poitiers. He was neither a courtier, a sceptic, nor an eclectic, and never had, as his son, the talent of saying neither 'yes' nor 'no' and procuring himself a nice non-committing position . . . If Faguet senior's conduct was not as shrewd, it was nobler and more consistent with the French temperament."

Included in the volume is a long letter by one of France's readers criticizing an article of his on Octave Feuillet's *Charybde et Scylla*. Frank and informal, it shows how carefully France's reviews were followed. "Your admiration for O. Feuillet was

a real disappointment to me," it begins. "How can you have admired him so? He has the charm of balance, you say. Yes, it is a great charm, one cannot do without it, but is that sufficient? What infuriates me is not only your taste for the author taken on the whole, but that you come and tell us that *Charybde and Scylla* is a witty satire." After a detailed critique of the book, the letter ends: "Forgive me this rather grumpy discourse, but I get on so well with you as a rule that it surprised and bothered me not to think as you do to-day, and I wanted to tell you."

France was meticulous in his research. Many pages are inscribed with bibliographical references to works by and about the authors he studied. Much of the material in the volume is written on Senate stationery. It was in 1876 that he was appointed to a minor post in the Senate Library, with the yearly salary of 2,200 francs. The job was actually a sinecure, requiring a maximum of two or three hours' cataloguing a week, while the surroundings provided the atmosphere of old books which he loved. But France could not discipline himself to regular working hours, nor to the mechanical chores involved. His superiors, although perplexed, were sympathetic, and he continued at the library until 1890, writing many of his best works on Senate time.

France was a collector of antiques, and was always alert in noticing architecture, painting, and sculpture wherever he went. Many lines here testify to a hobby which, after his writing, played the most important part in his life; and there are several rough sketches of architectural details — façades, fountains, and columns — as well as drawings of costumes and of printers' marks. On a scrap of paper appears the following passage, partly crossed out:

One can see in the Versailles museum, in one of the rooms of the north attic, a small painting, done on wood towards the first quarter of the fifteenth century. It is 38 cm high, and 34 cm wide . . . It is not its beauty that attracts. The coarse work of some painter who copied the Italian models with a lax and resigned clumsiness, the drawing is barbaric, lacking in ingenuity, and of a crude color which even time has not softened. But it is an infinitely precious relic.

He was an admirer of Meunier, the sculptor, and we find

this tribute, probably part of a speech he planned to deliver :

Constantin Meunier has expressed with naive grandeur and profound truth the modern life that is industrial life, and has translated into marble and bronze the beauty and sorrow of the workers. His work, strong and austere, is pathetic with simplicity. The democratic character that you wish to give these festivities makes them dearer to me.

Though a lover of the scholarly, France never lived in an ivory tower. During the latter part of his life he kept in close touch with the political currents of his day, fighting for Dreyfus and justice. The longest piece on social matters in the Library's volume is in the form of a letter, addressed to young students. France had made several speeches to them, but this one does not figure in any of his published works. It embodies not a few of his social beliefs, his love of the startling paradox, and his cynicism. Many sentences of the letter were left unfinished :

Young students, learn to respect what is respectable, the law. Pascal has told you that . . . The law ensures riches to the rich and poverty to the poor.

Love glory. Not that of exterminating black men and yellow men for the good of business and the advantage of transactions.

Society is well built. Do not listen to the evil minds who say it is bad. If they say so, it is that they do not see the whole. They see one who has too much and the other too little. But one must see the whole. As a matter of fact, there are compensations. Those who have nothing and can do nothing have not the worry of riches or of power . . .

Order is always good, and we are supporters of the monarchic order, Clovis, Charlemagne, Louis XIV, and Napoleon — order, but bourgeois order. Medes of the Persians, Roman empire, barbaric invasions, Goths, the feudal world, the French revolution, so that you could be masters of smithies, industrial owners.

It is the most honorable task, for it is the task of peoples, to exterminate other peoples. It has always been done, and Bossuet, who was no fool, judiciously remarked that it was pleasing to God. You will not have the opportunity, but it is so beautiful that for the intention you will be covered with

the emblems and decorations reserved for the victorious. And to kill people I will not name because we are at peace with them today, if the state of Europe allows it.

Study will make good men of you. All the social forces hold together.

You will be masters. Masters are necessary to servants. For if there were no masters, there would be no servants. That is a truth of which the workers must become aware.

There are two fragments on war and militarism:

Diplomats decide on war, but it is soldiers who fight; a different army needs a different diplomacy, an army of citizens an open diplomacy, a republican army a republican diplomacy. It is no doubt a great change we are asking for, but it is necessary. It is a revolution, but it must happen.

At all times there have been anti-militarists. Pascal called officers butchers [?] with swords. He was an anti-militarist. And Paul Louis Courier, a cavalry cannoneer, deemed of less value the battle of Rocroy than a line of La Fontaine. There are reasons for all this, as for all things.

There are a few lines about Christian Wolff, a German philosopher and follower of Leibnitz. They begin:

Define life: Life is a property peculiar to organic matter. Or say with Claude Bernard that it is a matter irritated. For excitement, what agent? It seems to me that he establishes the impossibility of life on the other planets, specifying only that which is possible on ours.

Scholars. They do not want people to know more than they do. They are right. They do not want people to know otherwise than they do. They are less right.

In another place France says:

There will always be souls for whom the realities of the universe will appear as signs and hieroglyphics of a divine thought. These are the mystics, and such are eternal. There will always be minds who will study nature for herself and will attempt to reduce its innumerable phenomena to a small number of laws. These are the scientists . . .

There is a great human advantage in Spain's popular government. It is the peace of the world. The governments remain indifferent or hostile to arbitration. The people are increasingly in favor of it.

There are several fragments on religion, most of which testify to France's ironic attitude towards all organized authority; there are also notes on the form and content of Church services — psalms, hymns, lessons, and responses. At the same time there are a large number of notes on the sciences, particularly on astronomy. Among them is a list of the twenty brightest stars and the clippings of an article from *L'Echo de Paris* on inter-planetary telegraphy. The novelist jotted down:

If one could learn that the stars, like our sun, have satellites! Stars with dark companions. Algol of Perseus which indicates in the sky the position of Medusa's head . . .

But it would be necessary for the planet that obscured it to be colossal, or almost contiguous to its sun, completing its revolution in 69 hours.

And one will have to conceive perpetual alternations of dilatation and condensation and see the world as the breathing of God.

Some remarks on radium and radio-activity were no doubt prompted by the Curies' discoveries and the great popular interest they aroused. A few of these are found in *Penguin Island*, in the chapter entitled "In the S. W. corner of the town": "Now that one can obtain radium in sufficient quantity, science possesses incomparable means of analysis; already one perceives in what we still call simple elements compounds of extreme richness, and one discovers in matter energies which seem to increase in proportion with its tenuity." The next sentences seem to follow the same train of thought:

One of the most interesting properties of radium is the enormous quantity of energy it contains. One has only to collect the gas from disintegrating radium, secondly to combine the oxygen and hydrogen by sparking, and one obtains an almost pure emanation, with only a trace of hydrogen. This emanation has about 3 million times the amount of energy that is produced by the explosion of an equal volume of illuminating gas. But to use it, one must bring it in contact, for thirty days, with the substances one wants to submit to its action.

Some of the most provocative pieces in the scrapbook are the rough drafts of letters which France intended to write.

There are no clues to the correspondents for whom they were intended, but they show the writer's generosity and loyalty towards his friends. The first may have been addressed to a foreign writer:

Dear friend,

Your letter moves me deeply; it has the ring of a noble heart, and assures me of a friendship so precious that I consider it one of the greatest gains of my life. So, it is true that you thought of me to distract you from a burning pain. Nothing more beautiful, more desirable than to be a distraction for a man such as you, great in mind, so great in heart. I use for you the word distraction [divertissement] in its classical sense. I would not do it for the majority of my countrymen, who do not know French as well as you do.

I look forward very much to seeing you this winter, calm, well, and happy.

I esteem and admire you

Anatole France

You are a voice one listens to in Europe. The world is now hovering between wisdom and madness. I fear that England may make us lose our heads.

Another seems just a note scribbled in haste:

My dear friend, I am so sorry not to have been at home when you came to see me. I am touched by your good wishes, and, believe me, I do not forget you. You speak of my novel; it is not finished, and I do not know whether it will be done by January 15.

The volume deserves further study by students of Anatole France.

The Engine Melvill

Two American Processionals of 1832

WHEN Andrew Jackson took office in 1829, he gave to his Democratic supporters Federal posts that had long been considered the property of their honorable and often ancient incumbents. This cleansing was turned to political capital by the defeated party, and one of the least popular dismissals was that of the Naval Officer of Boston, a post occupied by a Revolutionary hero who had participated in the great Tea-Party — Major Thomas Melvill*. The 18th century cocked-hat and knee-breeches of Major Melvill became not only a sight for Bostonians, but a symbol for loyal whigs, and in the following year young Oliver Wendell Holmes commemorated both sight and symbol in his best-known poem, "The Last Leaf."

Typical of even the smallest American town then was the Fire Company with its social and political functions bulking as large in duty as the putting out of fires. It was inevitable that Boston's Rapid Fire Association would wish to honor Melvill, the current hero-martyr of Jackson's spoils system. On January 3, 1832, Major Melvill replied to Henry Homer, Clerk of the Association:

Should the weather and my health permit, which for some months past has been interrupted by a serious attack of rheumatism, I will accept your friendly invitation for Monday Evening Jan^y 9 1832 . . .**

The members of the Association were impressed with the Major and a further step was proposed to the Chief Engineer on April 23:

The Rapid Fire Association about to receive from the City a New Engine to replace one which it is hoped has "done the City some service" — would take the opportunity respectfully to re-

* Among Melvill's several grandsons then was a ten-year-old, Herman; Herman's father, Allan Melvill, died January 28, 1832.

** This and all succeeding quotations are made from the minutes of the "Melvill" Fire Association (Boston Public Library Ms E.4.7.).

quest a change of the name by which No 13 has hitherto been designated . . . Entertaining in common with all our fellow citizens a Deep Respect and veneration for a man who has for a long term of Years enjoyed the confidence and respect of the community and whose name will ever be Intimately connected with our recollections of the "Fire Department" of this City, we are desirous of bearing upon our Engine the name of "Melvill"! We feel hope and confidence that our request will be favourably received and that we shall have an opportunity of paying this small but grateful Tribute to the last of the "Cocked-Hats."

At the Monthly Meeting on May 7:

The Roll was called the Engine was then taken out of the house and played out several times in Leverett St after which they went and filled at Major Melvills Pump and played in front of and on to the House, the Major came out and expressed a great deal of satisfaction in seeing us and Invited the Foreman to ask the Company into the House and take a glass of wine with him which they did after they had played out the Engine. The Major took each one by the hand as they entered the house giving them a hearty welcome and frequently made the expression I once never feared Fire or Water. The Major appeared to enjoy the scene very much, he brought in his staff that he used while he was a Fireward and likewise he showed us the Pitcher that was presented to him when he resigned. He said he valued [t]his more than merely for the Silver, he took his staff and stood in the centre of the Room and held it out with a great deal of youthful vigour. During the time there was a great number of spirited toasts given. We then left, he expressing his great Gratification for the Honour we showed him . . .

On June 21 — the formal ceremony:

Our Company was then formed in a Body with a Banner in front bearing the title of the Engine Rapid and its motto, Rapid we move our duty to Prove, and the year she was built 1816. In this manner the Company moved to Major Melvills house, and the Company forming a circle round the door. Mr George S. F. Roulstone addressed the major in the following words

"Major Melvill, As a Just tribute of proper respect to an aged veteran in the fire of battle, as well as of buildings, we come before you one of the foremost in both, & as children of your patriotism in older time, & your integrity in those days wherein we have been living witnesses of your worth, to tender you our respects & grati-

tude for your exertions as one who was prominent in achieving our liberties, as well as prompt & foremost in protecting the dwellings of our fathers from the element of fire. We considering & in fact knowing, that whatever affects public prosperity or safety is interesting to yourself, display the banner of our Engine Rapid, which like yourself has been long used in the public service, & which we now use for the last time, & which we now part with in sorrow, but in the hope that a Phoenix will arise from its ashes. But to lessen that regret, we have the anticipation of presenting to your favorable notice, ourselves — & a new specimen of American ingenuity, which we shall honor with the venerable and venerated name of a fireward of 1779 whose name is *Melvill*. That name is yourself sir."

At the close the Company put on a badge bearing the name of Melvill. In his presence they then formed again in couples and moved to the Engine house and received the Engine Melvill. After the company had formed on the Rope they moved to State St in the following order, two Banners in front, one bearing the name of Melvill 1832 and the motto, The Enemy we Conquer, the other was the Rapid Engine Banner the Suction Hosemen & officers on either side of the Engine, the leading hosemen drawing the carriage, the 3^d officer in the rear. The Engine was worked in State St with & without the Suction to the admiration of a large Concourse of Spectators. After the Engine had been played out several times the Company moved in the same order as before homeward, stopping at the Majors house and going in to Partake of the colation, before which the Major received the following address from Mr George S. F. Roulstone

"Major Melvill, Sir, We return & bring with us a specimen of the feeling which all of your Countrymen entertain toward you, of filial & patriotic respect, for your long faithful, brave & civil services for the only Republic in the world, whose escutcheon wears the brilliant lustre of unsullied purity in its acquirement & of energetic perseverance in its perpetuation. Soon will you be gathered to your fathers, & to the host of your compatriots & heroes of the revolution. But sir, these who address you through my humble self will not need to trace the letters upon the Engine now exhibited to you to remember the name of Melvill. The fire bell will ring out notes of pleasant remembrance of your self. We shall remember you when the cannon thunders out the anniversary of our freedom; & in the discharge of whatever duty whether public or private, we shall well remember the course pointed out to us by you in your conduct of a life of over four score years. To you sir in chief are we

indebted for this admirable system of safety from the devouring element of fire, now existing, for you were one of the principal pioneers in 1779 in beginning by practical effort the foundation on which its structure has been raised . . .”

The Major in reply stated that he was no Congress man, he was not fond of long speeches; (after pausing) he said, it is too much. The Company then partook of a colation during which there was a number of very Beautiful sentiments given. Capt James Peirce, a Past Foreman of No 13, spoke with much feeling. The Majors tears flowed freely as he was speaking. After stopping sometime, the company repaired to the Engine and after the Major had examined her they filled her with water and played her out, the Major holding the pipe after the Brakes were Limbered up. The Major presented the Company through Capt Peirce the Staff he used in his office as fireward . . .

The rest of the day was filled with parading, and the evening with banqueting:

. . . there was laid on the Table opposite the Majors plate a Pie marked 1779 and the roll of Bread on his Glass was marked in the same manner. The room was Brilliantly Illuminated, the Portrait of Major Melvill was hung at one End of the room and the Major sat opposite. The Front Window had a large Transparency 8 feet by 6, the figure of the Major 5 feet in length holding his staff in his right hand and a Scroll in his left containing the Documents relative to the Fire Department which had inscribed on it “Fire Department 1779.” In the Back ground was a vision of Boston harbour and a large Ship lying at anchor intended to represent the Tea Ship as he was one of the Principal in destroying the Tea in 1779 [!] Over his head was a Scroll Containing the names of “Melvill 1779,” “Amory 1832” on either side of the Major was a Painting made to represent two Pillars containing the names of the Present Engineers . . .

The minutes of this memorable occasion conclude with the record of nineteen toasts to Thomas Melvill. The next reference to the Major occurs after three months of fire-fighting — on September 7:

An alarm of Fire was given this day about 2 o'clock P.M. which was found to be a dwelling house in Green St. owned by Peter C Brooks and occupied by Ebenezer Smith. Our Engine was very soon present, took our water from the reservoir in the square and

played into no. 6 . . . After we had our orders to limber up, Maj. Melvill sent the company an invitation to visit his house & partake of some refreshment which invitation was accepted . . .

The Major's exertions in providing this refreshment brought on a series of disorders, concluding fatally:

Honorable Thomas Melvill. Died at his residence in Green St on Sunday evening September 16. 1832 at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 9 — oclock. Aged 82 years.

Blessed are the Dead that die in the Lord; for their works shall follow them.

On Monday the Members of the Melvill Fire Association — who had brought the old patriot his last living honors, and his last illness — wrote to ask Madam Melvill's permission for them to attend the funeral; on Tuesday, when their duty took them past the bereaved home:

An alarm of fire was given this evening about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 o'clock . . . When our Engine returned homeward on passing Maj Melvills former residence our Bell on the Engine was muffled cause^d by his Body's laying in the House.

When the Company met on Wednesday:

. . . the Sable cloth which shrouded the Engine and the Black festoons which decked the Celings & Wall of the Meeting room, the dressing of black on the Banners which were used on the day we received the Engine Melvill, the covering of deep black upon the Transparent potrait of the Lamented Melvill and the staff of his office as fireward (which was presented to the Company that day) shrouded intirely in black brought home to the minds of all that it was a meeting in the house of mourning. But we would dismiss the thought and rejoice that so good a man has been called home to dwell with the righteous in heaven w[h]ere is to be found happiness & rest eternal which was prepared for us from the foundation of the world.

On this Occassion it was interesting to witness the collection of young men and the simplicity and solemnity of the scene. There was a mingled air of concern and resignation on every face. Not a word was spoken scarcely a foot fall heard, all was silence and awe which was now and then interrupted by a whispering Eulogy on the much lamented Melvill. After each one had prepared himself with a black crape Bow on the left arm the Company was formed

in couples, headed by Messers Nathaniel Hammond and John Remick past commanders of the Rapid Engine No 13 and served under Major Melvill in his office as fireward, the 5 Officers of the Company held in their left hands a White Roll bearing the inscription of "Melvill 1779," on each end was tied a black crape Bow. The 1st foreman walked in front and the 2. & 3^d foreman on either side of the Company, the Clerk & Treasurer in the rear. In this form they moved to the late residence of Major Melvill. The Bell of the Engine commenced tolling and continued until the Company was out of hearing of its sound. In the train that followed after the hearse directly behind the mourners they moved through Green, Court, Washington, and School St. to the Stone Chapel Burial Ground w[h]ere the Company formed two lines from the Gate to the Tomb — through which the Corpse and mourners past together round the bed of Death. The female part of the family were so much overcome with grief that they did not get out of the Carraige . . .

*

In time for the Company's celebration of Thomas Melvill's birthday on January 28, 1833, his widow presented them with the silver pitcher of his days as Fireward — and on April 12 she followed her husband's body to the burial ground. In June, when President Jackson visited Boston, the company paraded, flaunting the name of MELVILL on their hats. The Melvill children remained in the Green Street house for nine months after their mother's death; in moving they found some mementoes of Thomas Melvill that they presented to the Melvill Company:

. . . a Cock^d up Hat being the one he wore at the last fire he was at while he held the Office of Fire Warden and at which he burnt a large hole in the Side of the rim, and likewise a lock of their father & Mothers Hair . . .

all of which were placed in appropriately silver-edged boxes to be exhibited on future occasions of state; some member of the Company also composed a poem about these souvenirs of an embattled life. The verses begin:

I see e'en now, the Spot where stood
Sire Melvill's favourite Chair
His aged venerable form
His smooth and silvery hair

THE B. P. L. QUARTERLY

His well known Beacon, and I see
His smile well known
When passing to our Duty
Warn'd by the Fire bells Moan . . .

JAY LEYDA

Charles E. Heil, Etcher

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

IT is chiefly as etcher and ornithologist that Heil's name is known to us. He was regarded by his contemporaries as one of the foremost contributors of the day to the graphic arts with his plates of bird life which are executed with considerable knowledge, originality, and excellent technique.

In August 1950, shortly after his death, the Print Department of the Boston Public Library acquired a complete collection of ninety-eight prints by the artist. This was made possible through the generosity of Mrs. Heil and Mr. Hiram C. Merrill, and it is known as the Charles Emile Heil Memorial Collection. It constitutes an important link in our program of building up a collection of representative Boston artists working in the graphic arts medium. An exhibition of Heil's work was held in the Wiggin Gallery in September.

Charles Emile Heil was born in Boston, on February 28, 1870. He received his early education in art at the Cowles Art School in this city under the tutelage of Joseph De Camp and Ernest L. Major. He later went to Paris, where he continued his studies with the masters Courtois and Blanc, at the Académie Colarossi and Delaclone.

The study of the birds and their habits were Heil's chief interest from early childhood. He explained on several occasions to the writer that the beauty of color and graceful movements fascinated him from the time he could remember. Several studies done when he was but seven years of age were exhibited to demonstrate his first efforts.

After completing his studies in Paris, Heil returned to Boston, turning his talent to the painting of portraits and landscapes in oil and watercolor. However, he continued his study of birds, and it was the success of his paintings in watercolor of them in an exhibition held in Boston in 1910 that decided him to devote his talent principally to the subjects of his early development.

It is interesting to note that before he took up the etching

needle and copperplate he had worked continually to further his knowledge of bird life, having executed a large collection of watercolors, drawings, and studies in pen and pencil. This period of constant employment in sketching and painting developed in Heil a wide understanding of the habits peculiar to the blue jay, chickadee, vireo, chewink, and sparrow in their mature and fledgling state. It gave him a facility in draftsmanship and the use of a particular quality of line so important in etching.

His plates are usually of small dimensions but are handled in a big way in color, texture, technical proficiency, and versatility; and they are decidedly personal and intimate. Among the smaller plates, Heil's interpretation is reflected in such subjects as "Fledgling Red-Eyed Vireo," "Fledgling Chewink," "Fledgling Vireo," "Fledgling Song Sparrow," "Bird and Bug," "Golden Crowned Kinglet," "Young Chickadee," "Fledgling Chickadee," and "Young Bluejay" — all of which possess a poetic as well as artistic achievement, and call for close study to appreciate their full meaning.

Among the larger plates, never measuring more than 8 by 10 inches, are such accomplishments as "Young Song Sparrow," "Young Chickadees," "Young Bluejay," "Ruffed Grouse," "Young Heron," "The Nest," "Young Brown Thrasher," "Red-Eyed Vireo," and "Fledgling and Fruit." The stroke of the needle and the technique are strong and direct. His fine composition, his rendering of accessories, and craftsmanship also display an ever greater facility and flexibility, devoid of uncertainty and triteness.

These are truly portraits of feathered friends which have the validity of scientific understanding, and are records executed by a specialist in his chosen field with the proper equipment and inherent esthetic response.

This was perhaps the first retrospective exhibition of Heil's work ever held in Boston. To add greater interest to the show, there were states, trial proofs, and experiments in printing. The subjects "Two Young Blue Jays," "Bird and Berry," "Young Chickadees," "On a Pine Branch" were represented in this category to stimulate study in the development of these plates.

This exhibition demonstrated all that distinguished Heil in



"On a Pine Branch," Etching by Charles E. Heil

the graphic arts. During his active years he saw new ideas replace the work of those who were recognized for their contribution to the etching medium. This seemed to have little effect upon him other than the making of a few abstract experiments; but the technician and the thoroughly trained artist whose talent was based upon principles is evidenced in his efforts at all times.

Charles E. Heil enjoyed wide recognition and unusual success for prints which can be found in many important museums here and abroad and in many private collections. He won numerous awards throughout the United States for his etchings and watercolors.

Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

A New Letter and Poem by "Thomas Ingoldsby"

WITH Sydney Smith, his fellow canon at St. Paul's, Richard Harris Barham may be thought of as one of the last of the eighteenth-century clergymen. Equally at home in ecclesiastical, literary, and social circles, Barham went on his rounds from the chapter rooms of St. Paul's to the publishing firm of Richard Bentley in Burlington Street, from thence to the Garrick Club, and, less frequently, but not less to his liking, to the green fields of Kent for a day's pheasant shooting.

The Boston Public Library has an unpublished letter by Barham written to an unidentified correspondent from his house in St. Paul's Church Yard and dated September 8, 1830, which gives us an informal close-up of him after one of his jaunts to the country. It affords as well a holograph copy of a poem of which Dalton Barham, Ingoldsby's son and biographer, reproduces only the first stanza and says that the remainder is illegible in his copy.¹

St. Paul's Church Yard
Sept^r 8. 1830

My dear Sir

Many thanks for the parody which is excellent & amused us exceedingly [.] I shall preserve it as a most interesting relic of two of the pleasantest days I have spent lately, the exceeding dullness of this best of all possible towns at this time of the year makes me look back to Parrock and the fields with a tender melancholy which I can hardly express. Were I but twenty now as once I was I should be very much tempted, seeing what I have seen, to cut what our friend Fothergill calls the Molltropolus and rusticate entirely [.]

I'd be a Fothergill just turn'd of twenty

In corduroy smalls, and a velveteen vest,

Roaming wherever the game is most plenty

Claiming all birds that are wing'd by the rest;

I'm not "tenashous" of gay detonators,

"I should say" Flint-and-steel locks are the best

1. R. H. Dalton Barham, *The Life and Letters of the Rev. Richard Harris Barham*, 2 vols. (London, 1870), I, 98n.

-- I'd be a Fothergill knee-deep in "'taters,"
 Claiming all Birds that are shot by the rest!
 I'd be a Fothergill, I'd be a Fothergill, etc.

Dick seems thoroughly of my mind, and the recollection of his achievement with the pigeons will long be a green Oasis on the desert of his soul, even George² is singing out

Pray remember
 The first of September
 Gunpowder, Flints, and Shot;
 I know no reason
 Why this shooting season
 Should ever be forgot!

Seriously the expedition seems to have done them both a great deal of good.

I have not forgotten your commission but could not get hold of Hawes³ till this morning. His pair of Snuffers are Bewlay and Son whose address you will find on the paper which envelopes their specimens. The fact is Hawes who uses two kinds of snuff has forgotten which of his tabatieres you gave the preference to, and as "Snuff deferred maketh the Nose sick" I have thought it better to enclose you a sample of each sort, a proper supply of either of which I can send down when you let me know which you select. Pray give my kindest remembrances to the Major, who I hope got on better when removed from the influence of my evil star (not a shooting star certainly). I trust he has not felt himself the worse for the Porter quaffed under the auspices of the Heir of the House of Nassau; for my own part I cannot but reflect on those delicious draughts with un-mixed satisfaction, a feeling like Ossians "pleasing yet mournful to the soul."

What though you tell me the turnips & clover
 Make one all muck in a hot smoking day
 Sure 'tis delicious when fagging is over
 With Barclay & Perkins to moisten one's clay [.]
 Some, "it's quite likely," who think themselves cuter
 May Gin-twist or cold rum-and-water essay
 I'd be a Fothergill hugging the pewter
 With long pulls at "heavy-wet" soaking my clay.

2. Barham's son, who died during the cholera epidemic of 1832.

3. Probably either William Hawes, the musician, who set Barham's poem to music for the opening of the Garrick Club, or the clergyman of this name at St. Paul's.

I'd be a Fothergill
 I'd be a Fothergill
 Swigging all night after shooting all day.

I think by this time you have had enough of nonsense so
 adieu, for the present and believe ever

Most truly yours,
 R H Barham

Barham's diary contains no entry in September, 1830, which sheds light on either the events mentioned in the letter or the poem. But the entry of September 1, 1827,⁴ corresponds closely to both:

Lord William Lennox and Mr. George Hill⁵ (of the Blues) met Dick [Dalton] and myself at Parrock House, where we slept last night. Went out shooting this morning, killing eleven brace and a half of partridges; dined at two, and returned at four by the steamboat. On the voyage we had our profiles taken by an artist on board for a shilling a head, which he executed in ten seconds by the help of a pair of scissors only.

Barham's will reveals that Parrock House was the home farm on the estate "in the parish of Hilton next Gravesend in the county of Kent" of Thomas Dalton, a colonel of the West Kent Regiment and Mrs. Barham's uncle.⁶ Dalton Barham explains that during an absence from England of the Colonel, the preservation of the game on the estate was entrusted to "a most respectable farmer" named Fothergill, who was "a bit of a character," as the poem indicates. Barham went down to attend to business matters there⁷ and had his friends join him for the hunting. On the return trip he wrote the parody of Thomas Haynes Bayly's "I'd be a Butterfly," a hurdy-gurdy ballad very much in fashion.⁸

4. *Life*, I, 97.

5. George Hill served in the Oxford Blues, of which troop Lord William Lennox was a captain. Barham's friendship with the latter is attested in numerous diary entries and in Lord William's *Biographical Reminiscences* (2 vols., London, 1863) where he says that he and Barham "enjoyed many a joke together, and not a few droll adventures" (II, 288).

6. On September 30, 1814, Barham married Caroline Smart, the daughter of a captain of the Royal Engineers. The Daltons and Smarts were Kentish families and both had members in military service. One of these may be the major referred to in the letter.

7. Upon the death of Colonel Dalton his estate was put in trusteeship of Barham.

8. Theodore Hook, the novelist and noted wit of the day, in 1829 introduced the two men thus: "Barham — Mr. Bayley there are several of the name; this is not 'Old Bailey,' with whom you may some day become intimate, but the gentleman whom we call 'Butterfly Bayley.'"

It seems probable, then, that Barham, after his return to London in early September, 1830, from another trip to Kent, in looking back to Parrock House and the fields escapes from "a tender melancholy" by resorting to a poem written three years before. As he often does in the *Ingoldsby Legends*, he turns away from "serious" thought and emotion into wit, or, as in this case, to parody. That he need not always have done so is shown by many passages in his work, but his poems are best remembered for the facile wit and ingenious rhymes which equal those of Byron and Browning.

The Fountain of all the Sciences

LA FONTAINE DE TOUTES SCIENCES by "the philosopher Sydrach" is a depository of miscellaneous medieval lore, printed for Antoine Vérard in Paris probably in 1496. A folio of 186 leaves, the volume is printed in large Gothic type, two columns to a page. It has two large woodcuts, each occupying three-fourths of a page. The first, surmounting the dedication, shows Charles VIII, King of France, on his throne, receiving the book from the author. The second picture represents the same scene; here the scholar is on his knees, and on both sides are groups of courtiers. The Library has recently acquired a beautiful copy. There is only one other recorded in America.

Who the "philosopher Sydrach" was, or rather who the author of the book attributed to him really was, has caused much speculation. The prologue gives an elaborate account of its strange history, identifying Sydrach with a descendant of Japhet, the son of Noah! In an authoritative study (*La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen Age*, pp. 180-264) Charles-Victor Langlois points out that the book's preoccupation with the Orient, its polemics against the Greeks and other Oriental Christians, etc. argue for authorship by one who has lived in the Latin Empire of the Near East. On the other hand, the hypothesis that the Occidental version of the work originated at the court of Frederick II deserves consideration. In another medieval work, the *Secret des Secrets*, mention is made of a "most skillful and faithful interpreter of languages," *Johannes filius Patricii*, or *Jehan fiz Patrice*, or Jean Pierre. This Jean Pierre of Lyons may have been the author or translator of the work. More important still is the determination of the probable date of authorship. Sydrac's "prediction" of the fall of Antioch to the Saracens, which took place in 1268, and the fact that no

manuscripts earlier than of about 1300 are known, suggest that the book was composed toward the end of the thirteenth century.

This "book of knowledge" was greatly esteemed in the Middle Ages; it has been translated into Italian, Flemish, Low German, and English. The number of questions asked and answered in it varies in the different manuscripts and printed editions. The present volume contains 1,104 questions. As may be seen by the thirty-seven page table of contents, they deal with virtually everything: angels and evil spirits, the earth, the sun, moon, and planets; paradise and hell, life and death, soul and body, orient and occident, winds and thunder, eclipses and other phenomena; beasts, birds, and fish; trees, precious stones and their virtues; loyalty and treason; sleeping and waking, eating and drinking; disease and its cures; war and peace. King Boetus asks the questions, and Sydrach, the philosopher, answers them.

The first series of questions is theological and, on the whole, comports with the orthodox doctrines of the time. Sydrach discusses at length the functions of the angels and the angelic hierarchy. The problems of ethics are interspersed with those of hygiene and geography. "Conjectures, such as were fancied in all popular literature," Ernest Renan and Gaston Paris observed (in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*) "are mixed with important questions of cosmography and general physics. No serious curiosity inspires all this . . . The contradictions of Sidrach are perpetual. He knows the roundness of the earth, but believes in a firmament, a solid vault turning incessantly and enveloping the earth. The gravest problems of the system of the world confront him without his giving them the least sign of understanding. The mysteries of generation are those which preoccupy him most . . ."

It must be admitted, however, that in this last field the following explanation rises to what may be called meta-biological heights. The King asks: "If it were so that my father and mother had never been born, how would I have been born?" Sydrach replies: "Since the commandment of God has been given and you are born in this world, it is thus that you had to be born." For before God made the world He knew well the number of people who would be born, and supposing the questioner's father and mother had never been born, then he would have been born of another father and another mother. A similar logic underlies another piece of information. The King asks: if a man is deaf-mute, in what language does he think in his heart? Sydrach replies: "The man who is born mute, and can neither speak nor hear, thinks in the language of his first ancestor, that is Adam, and his language was Hebrew."

Sydrach appears as something of a misogynist. The King asks: "Why do women have the joy and the sorrow of the world?" and Sydrach answers: "Because their blood and brains are lighter than men's, and they have less understanding than men; therefore, they are like a tree-top which bends in the wind."

In the political sphere Sydrach was a conservative, holding that the rich were not without honor. He was also something of a pacifist. The King asks: "Will there always be war in the world?" and he replies: "There will always be war, large or small, in some part of the world. And if the world always had peace, it would not be the world, but paradise." As for nationalism, the motto "*ubi bene ibi patria*" seems to have governed his views. Upon the King's inquiry whether one can forget one's country, he declares: "If one is so poor in one's own country that one has not enough to live on, and goes to another country where one finds ample goods and riches, then one should certainly forget one's own country." Asked by the King who should be the most honored people in the world, he replies: "The people of Persia, but there will be a time when the French and the English will be the most honored people in the world, and the wisest and most valiant."

Toward the end Sydrach relates the conquest of Jerusalem and the fall of Antioch. Then follows a "prophetic" history of the crusades, in which one sees a Pope marching against the infidels at the head of a Christian army.

When all questions have been answered, Sydrach helps King Boetus to build a tower in twenty-six days. The King is converted to Christianity, and in his land the pagan idols fall. His enemy King Garaab, deeply impressed, seeks peace and is also converted. Unfortunately, after the death of the philosopher and his royal convert the people relapsed into paganism.

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